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**Change on Tap for Nashville:
The Telegraph and News Content, 1860**

by

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The telegraph is widely believed to have brought significant changes in newspaper journalism in the nineteenth century but relatively few studies have explored the nature of that change. Economies in the face of expensive transmission costs are generally held to have spawned the summary lead and inverted pyramid style for organizing a news story as Civil War reporters filed dispatches from the battlefields.¹ Historian Richard A. Schwarzlose has described how telegraph technology led to the development of news collectives, such as the Associated Press.² In terms of content, historian Donald L. Shaw demonstrated how in the later nineteenth century the need to be marketable to newspapers of different political persuasions led to a more-neutral presentation of telegraph news and the reduction of bias in presidential political news in Wisconsin.³ These studies of how the telegraph changed story forms, the dissemination of news, and content suggest further opportunities to enrich understanding of how the technology altered journalism in the nineteenth century.

This study examines news coverage in the Nashville (Tennessee) *Daily Gazette* in 1860 to expand analysis of how the telegraph affected news coverage and presentation. It offers insights into how, on the eve of the Civil War, editors

¹ Bruce D. Itule and Douglas A. Anderson, *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1994), 58.

² Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Early Telegraphic News Dispatches: Forerunner of the AP," *Journalism Quarterly* 51 (Summer 1974):595-601.

³ Donald L. Shaw, "News Bias and the Telegraph: A Study of Historical Change," *Journalism Quarterly* 44 (Spring 1967): 3-12.

were experimenting with a technology less than twenty years old.⁴ The study further posits a reciprocal action between interest in important far-away events creating demand for news, and technology that could produce news or the ingredients of news stories faster than traditional means increasing interest in distant news events. This helped fuel significant changes in news enactment and presentation in a relatively short span. Content for the first six months of 1860 was examined, and all *Gazette* stories in January and June 1860 were studied in detail to determine the paper's use of news reports identifiable as arriving by telegraph, in contrast with those derived from local production or reprinting from exchange papers.

Nashville's Newspaper Heritage

Nashville in 1860 had a lively and long-standing newspaper heritage. In 1797, Nashville's first newspaper, *The Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser*, was established,⁵ to be followed in 1799 by the *Rights of Man*, or *The Nashville Intelligencer*.⁶ By 1800, the city's first newspaper had undergone changes in ownership and in name,

⁴ Use of the telegraph to transmit news has been identified as occurring soon after 1845-1846. Schwarzlose, 596. In Nashville, TN, the first telegraphic message was received in March 1848 "on Henry O'Reilly's line from Louisville to Nashville." W. Woodford Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1880), 207.

⁵ Clayton, 229.

⁶ John Egerton, ed. *Nashville: The Faces of Two Centuries, 1780-1980* (Nashville, TN: PlusMedia, 1979).

becoming *The Clarion*.⁷ Also started in 1800 was the *Tennessee Gazette*, whose editor, Benjamin Bradford, was at one time mayor of Nashville.⁸ Although relatively scant, the secondary literature mentioning Nashville newspapers does hint at the variety and political leaning of the various newspapers and also how Nashville's newspapers rose, fell, and combined over the years. Mentioned are *The Clarion and Tennessee State Gazette*, April 18, 1815;⁹ *Nashville Whig and Tennessee Advertiser*, March 13, 1819;¹⁰ *Nashville Whig*, October 17, 1828;¹¹ *Nashville True Whig*, December 28, 1850;¹² *Republican Banner*, 1852;¹³ *Nashville Daily Union*, 1852;¹⁴ and *Republican Daily Banner and Nashville Whig*, August 24, 1852.¹⁵

Sharing the News

Nashville had a population of nearly 32,000 people¹⁶ served by six newspapers in 1860¹⁷, and it is interesting to

⁷ Clayton, 229.

⁸ Egerton, 52.

⁹ Ibid., 57.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 89.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ F. Garvin Davenport, *Cultural Life in Nashville: On the Eve of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 197.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Egerton, 107.

¹⁶ Clayton, 209.

¹⁷ Ibid., 240.

speculate on the nature of competition and interdependence among several newspapers operating at the same time and place in this era. Besides publishing items found in exchange papers from elsewhere in the country, the *Gazette's* editors used stories from their fellow Nashville journalists as well. Said the *Gazette* on June 27:

Our estimable friend, Jno. C. Burch, of the *Union and American*, who was in Baltimore during the Democratic Convention, was certainly not an inactive observer of the enthusiasm attending the nomination of the Breckinridge ticket. We guess so at least from the despatches (sic) he sent his paper. Here they are.¹⁸

There followed a pickup from the *Union and American*, although the reprinting's intent seems likely to have been to tweak the rival for its frequent use of the phrases "greatest enthusiasm prevails" and "wildest enthusiasm prevails" toward the Breckinridge ticket.¹⁹ The *Gazette's* comment on the *Union and American* item was, "Relying implicitly on the integrity of Mr. Burch, we can but conclude that the nomination of Breckinridge and Lane was made in a perfect storm of all sorts of enthusiasm."²⁰

In January, however, the *Gazette* was in earnest when it told readers, "We copy this morning from the Nashville *Union and American* an account of the proceedings of the Democratic

¹⁸ "Various Sorts of Enthusiasm," *Nashville Daily Gazette*, 27 June, 1860, p. 2. (In notes hereafter, *Gazette*. Since all citations to the *Gazette* are for the year 1860, the year will be omitted in subsequent footnotes.)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

State Convention held in this city on Wednesday night."²¹ It added:

Our obliging contemporaries of the paper from which we copy, kindly furnished us in compliance with a request, with the copy on Wednesday night, and our inability to get it in type for yesterday's issue of the Gazette is our only excuse for its non-appearance at that time.²²

A full report of the convention followed, attributed again to the *Union and American*.

Moreover, the local news business was news to the Nashville papers. In its news columns on June 3, 1860, the Gazette reported the demise of the *Nashville News* and its purchase by A.S. Camp & Co. of the Patriot office."²³ An apparent redesign of the *Nashville Banner* - "dressed up in a new and beautiful suit, which fits it with all the ease and grace imaginable"²⁴ - also drew favorable notice that day. The year began with a Gazette item calling attention to the start of the *National Pathfinder*, "a new Nashville paper. ... A good sized sheet, filled with interesting matter and well worth the price of subscription."²⁵

²¹ "Democratic State Convention," Gazette, 20 January, p. 2.

²² Ibid.

²³ "One Newspaper Less," Gazette, 3 June, p. 3.

²⁴ "A New Banner to the Breeze," Ibid.

²⁵ "The National Pathfinder," Gazette, 1 January, p. 3. The Gazette's apparent cordiality to competitors suggests grounds for further research about relations among editors and their newspapers in an era in which editors' political passions not infrequently led to bloodshed. See, for instance, reference to a shoot-out between Nashville editors John Leake Marling of the *Daily Union* and Felix Kirk Zollicoffer of the *Republican Banner* in Davenport, 197. In 1859, Allen A. Hall, by then editor of the *Nashville News* and previously Zollicoffer's successor as editor of the

As researchers George Adams and Ralph Christian note, "Newspaper publishing was an unstable business in early Nashville. Between 1800 and 1840, newspapers appeared under more than two dozen mastheads and between 1820 and 1860 there were always four or five papers competing for readers."²⁶ The Civil War and Union occupation of the city brought closings and new newspapers as well, including the *Daily Press* and the *Daily Journal*²⁷ and a possibly reborn *Daily Union*.²⁸ Five newspapers were publishing during one part of 1864.²⁹

The *Nashville Daily Gazette* was relatively long lived on the Nashville scene but no less subject to the vicissitudes encountered by its competitors. By April 15, 1856, the newspaper's masthead was proclaiming "Largest Circulation in

Banner, killed George T. Poindexter, an editor of the *Union and American*, in a street fight (Clayton, 208). A shoot-out between the two editors of the *Lynchburg, Va., Virginian* and two editors of the *Lynchburg Republican* was reported in the *Gazette*, "Two Editors Shot," 26 June, p. 2, and amplified a few days later with a reprint from the *Baltimore Sun*, "The Lynchburg, Va., Affray, *Gazette*, 30 June, p. 2. That these "affrays" frequently ended with wounds rather than deaths suggests research into whether the pen was not only mightier than the sword but more accurate in these editors hands than their firearms, the Hall-Poindexter fight notwithstanding.

²⁶ George Rollie Adams and Ralph Jerry Christian. *Nashville: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, VA: Denning Co., 1988), 26.

²⁷ Walter T. Durham, *Reluctant Partners: Nashville and the Union*, July 1, 1863, to June 30, 1865 (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 1987), 66.

²⁸ Publication of the *Daily Union* on April 13, 1862 has been called the "birth" of that newspaper without accounting for the reference to a newspaper by that name in 1852. Walter T. Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City. The First Seventeen Months - February 16, 1862, to June 30, 1863* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 1985), 75.

²⁹ Durham, *Reluctant Partners*, 171.

the City"³⁰ and that claim – never backed up with published circulation figures – would remain atop Page One of the Gazette in 1860, under the proprietorship of James T. Bell & Co.³¹ However, the 1860 masthead's circulation boast finds support in the paper's other masthead claim as the city's "Official Journal,"³² in which municipal legal advertising would appear from time to time.³³ Adams and Christian point out that "James T. Bell's *Nashville Daily Gazette* was the third newspaper to bear that name. Established in 1844, it went through fourteen changes of ownership before ceasing publication during the Civil War."³⁴

Throughout the first six months of 1860, the *Nashville Daily Gazette* was published Tuesday through Sunday mornings, a four-page broadsheet in which the front and back covers were exclusively for advertising. News items, sometimes with comment that in these days would be called editorializing and sometimes fairly straight recitations of facts, appeared on the second and third pages, although these items shared space with additional advertising that in modern terms might be described as display and classified advertising. The news columns also contained locally written commentary.

³⁰ Egerton, 106.

³¹ Gazette, 1 January, p. 1.

³² Ibid.

³³ An example is the list of addressees of letters not picked up from the Nashville Post Office, appearing 1 June, p. 2.

³⁴ Adams and Christian, 26.

Entrepreneurial Editor

The publisher was James T. Bell & Co., with James T. Bell and his father-in-law, M. V.B. Haile, the principals in the company.³⁵ However, James R. Bruce was listed as editor on the Page Two masthead, while James T. Bell was listed in the Page Three masthead as "local and commercial editor."³⁶

Although featured in Clayton's contemporary account in published in 1880, when Bell was still managing editor of the *Nashville Banner*, he appears only occasionally in the other secondary literature. The references suggest Bell held an important but at times ambiguous position in Nashville civic life. Historian Walter Durham reports that in 1862 Bell, an alderman, was among city officials dismissed by military Governor Andrew Johnson for disloyalty to the Union.³⁷ On April 15, 1862, Bell, described by this time as former editor of the *Gazette*, and *Banner* editor E.E. Jones were jailed by Johnson for treasonable conduct.³⁸ Bell is identified as owner and editor of the *Gazette* in 1860,³⁹ and the *Gazette* is mentioned

³⁵ Clayton, 244a.

³⁶ Although Haile's name appears with Bell's on the masthead, Clayton (239) identifies Bruce as one of the principals at this time. It is possible that others were involved in the partnership as well since the constantly shifting newspaper ownerships in this period frequently included several partners.

³⁷ Durham, *Occupied City*, 73.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁹ *Gazette*, 1 January. Throughout the first six months of 1860, the paper listed Bell as an owner (p. 2) and as local and commercial editor (p. 3).

as publishing at least as late as December 1861.⁴⁰ However, the Gazette was seized under the Confiscation Act early in the occupation years⁴¹ and would resume publication, "James T. Bell & Co., editors and proprietors ... on November 10, [1863] after a long hiatus."⁴² In the interim, Bell apparently became editor of the new *Daily Journal*, "another Union newspaper in the city."⁴³ That Bell could edit pro-Union and secessionist papers in such a short span of years raises interesting questions about the man, but the Gazette apparently remained a thorn in the Union side. Early in July 1864, the provost marshal in Nashville determined that Gazette employees were distributing a New York City newspaper supporting the Confederacy. The Gazette staff members were warned "This practice will not be tolerated and a continuance of the same will subject any and all parties engaged in the same to imprisonment and will cause suppression of your paper."⁴⁴ In the end, however, military censorship was only one of the threats to newspapers. Advertisers with nothing to sell stopped advertising, adding to the obstacles to publication, and the Gazette ceased publication July 3, 1864.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Durham, *Occupied City*, 95.

⁴¹ Ibid., 181.

⁴² Durham, *Reluctant Partners*, 67.

⁴³ Ibid., 66.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 171. However, Clayton (244a) claimed that the Gazette resumed publication and remained until it was consolidated with another paper in 1868.

Printers' Exchanges

Like many papers in this period, the Gazette appears to have subscribed to a large number of newspapers from around the country,⁴⁶ including those of the North, and it frequently reprinted news items from these other newspapers. Occasional news items thanking individuals for bringing "late papers in advance of the mails"⁴⁷ suggest that postal exchanges were less expeditious and reliable conduits for these exchange papers than individuals bringing out of town papers by railroad to Nashville.

Occasionally a reprint was preceded or followed by a comment from the Nashville editor, underscoring that the gatekeeping was not perfunctory. For instance, when the *Louisville Courier* reported, "A dead dog has been laying on Second street, between main (sic) and Market for several days," the Gazette quipped, "You would hardly expect a live one to lie there that long, would you?"⁴⁸ Similarly, a shooting reported in an item clipped from the *Springfield, Missouri, Mirror*⁴⁹ was blamed on one John Owen. The Gazette appended the information that "John Owen will be remembered by some of our readers as the man who some years since killed his brother, Richard Owen, in Williamson county, Tenn. He then fled from

⁴⁶ Richard B. Kielbowicz, "Newsgathering by Printers' Exchanges Before the Telegraph," *Journalism History* 9 (Summer 1982): 47.

⁴⁷ Gazette, 8 June, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Gazette, 5 January, p. 2.

⁴⁹ "Shooting Affray," *Ibid.*, 13 January, p. 2.

the State and was never tried for that crime."⁵⁰ Thus, it might be reasonable to see in the selection of articles gleaned from out-of-town newspapers the exercise of editorial discretion and mindset, predisposition, or bias. A general reading of the Gazette for this period fails to show a particular pattern in what news items were picked up from other papers, although politics, calamity, unusual occurrences, and social notes predominate.

Telegraph News

A review of the Gazette's news columns suggests that the telegraph was becoming increasingly important in delivering news to the newspaper throughout the first six months of 1860. A fixture on Page Three each day was a column at times labeled "Latest News By Telegraph!"⁵¹ but more often simply "Telegraphic."⁵² These telegraph news columns varied in length but whether because of available telegraph news or available space on the page is speculative. Each item in the column carried a line identifying a city and a date, and examination of the datelines suggests that these identify the city and date of telegraph transmission and not necessarily where and

⁵⁰ Ibid. Such comment, not uncommon for the period, shows how libel laws have changed the language of police reporting since the mid-nineteenth century.

⁵¹ Gazette, 1 June, p. 2.

⁵² Gazette, 2 June, p. 2.

when the event occurred.⁵³

Except for the placement of advertising on pages One and Four and generally putting non-local news on Page Two and local, state and regional⁵⁴ news on Page Three, the greatest formatting of the paper is apparent in the telegraph column. Staple headlines and topics in the column included "From Washington," "River News," "Steamer Arrived,"⁵⁵ "Foreign," "Pony Express,"⁵⁶ "Arrival of the Overland Mail," and "New Orleans (or, New York) Markets." Other items entered the telegraph column episodically and their selection often suggests early influences of the modern journalistic news

⁵³ An example is the continuing news interest in Garibaldi's fight for Italian independence. Most often this telegraph coverage featured dates the items were transmitted from New York City, with the city identified in the dateline. It appears that virtually all of the Garibaldi coverage initially came to the United States via trans-Atlantic steamers arriving in New York from Europe. See, for instance, *Gazette*, 12 June 1860, p. 2. The practice of datelining material where the information was obtained rather than where the action occurred remains an Associated Press convention today. See, Norman Goldstein, ed., *The Associated Press Stylebook* 31st ed. (New York: The Associated Press, 1996), 57.

⁵⁴ This is an impressionistic observation, since further study would be necessary before one could reliably identify what in 1860 was a Nashville reader's idea of his or her "region." The principal criterion used here is the frequency of mention of non-Nashville municipalities. Hence, Louisville, KY, appears to be within Nashville's "region" by virtue of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad link, although they are more than 150 miles apart. By comparison, Chattanooga, less than 75 miles distant, received considerably less mention in the *Gazette* during the 1860 months studied, although it, too, was linked by rail.

⁵⁵ Often this headline was rendered more specific with the name of the vessel, e.g., "Arrival of the Great Eastern," *Gazette*, 29 June, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Somewhat paradoxically, news in this period alternately moved no faster than a horse or a steamship until it reached a telegraph office, from which it sped to newspapers throughout the country. See, for instance, Arthur C. Carey, "Effects of the Pony Express and the Transcontinental Telegraph Upon Selected California Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 51 (Summer 1974): 320-322.

typologies (conflict, unusualness, proximity, prominence, impact, and, increasingly, timeliness). For other items, the rationale for news enactment is less clear. For instance, it remains for further social history research to determine what Nashville readers made of the one-sentence telegraph report, "The Cricket match between the St. George, New York and a Philadelphia club was won by the former with 6 crickets to spare."⁵⁷

Growing Telegraph Influence

In a comparison of the January and June editions of the Gazette for 1860, the growing influence of the telegraph on the paper's news coverage is seen in at least two ways. The telegraph report appears to have been an agenda-builder for the newspaper. It also seems to have enabled a shift toward more complete and more timely coverage of non-local events. As such, the telegraph report's influence in creating greater awareness of other regions through the immediacy of its news may merit further scholarly attention.

The agenda-building influence of the telegraph may be seen anecdotally in the frequency of references outside the telegraph news column to information supplied by telegraph. In the first month of the year, only two locally produced stories or comments in the general columns of pages Two and Three specifically referred to the telegraph as their source. Most of the non-local stories are attributed to other newspapers

⁵⁷ "Cricket Match," Gazette, 8 June, p. 2.

throughout the country, attesting to the complexity of the editors' exchange network. Even when no source was identified, the nature of the news item and the comparative fullness of even a one- or two-paragraph report suggest its origin in the editors' exchange rather than the telegraph, where the typical report gives no more than a single cryptic sentence to each subject.

Although its use was confined chiefly to the "Telegraphic" column in the *Gazette*, the telegraph was beginning to influence news judgment and presentation. While in January only two locally prepared items refer to the telegraph, three of the exchange paper items attributed their information to telegraph dispatches.⁵⁸ Also, a subscription advertisement carried several times for the *Louisville Journal* boasted that its "network of telegraph all over the Union enables them to report all events of public interest almost simultaneously with their occurrence."⁵⁹ Of the two locally produced items mentioning the telegraph, one on January 8 reported, in its entirety, "We learn by a telegraph dispatch received in this city yesterday, that a large and destructive fire occurred in Hickman, Ky., on Wednesday night last, which

⁵⁸ *Huntsville Independent* item in *Gazette*, 3 January, p. 3; *Louisville Journal* item in *Gazette*, 5 January, p. 3; "Cincinnati *Gazette* telegraphic correspondent," *Gazette*, 27 January, p. 3.

⁵⁹ "The *Louisville Journal*," *Gazette*, 3 January, p. 3.

destroyed the Commercial Hotel and several storehouses."⁶⁰

The other story on the telegraph that drew local attention in the *Gazette* that month may offer insight into the editors' criteria for news in the South of 1860, dealing, as it did, with disaster, great loss of life, and a New England textile mill purported to have been shoddily constructed. On January 12, the lead item on Page Two began, "Our readers were yesterday informed by a brief telegraphic despatch (sic), of the falling of the Pemberton Mills, at Lawrence, Mass., and the consequent destruction of human life."⁶¹ The information in this comparatively long (135 words) item was further updated by an item in the telegraph column on that page reporting that fire had broken out as rescuers sought survivors in the in the rubble of the collapsed mill.⁶² The next day, the *Gazette* devoted more than a column of news space to an extensive report on the mill disaster.⁶³ The source of that story, datelined "Lawrence, Mass, Jan 10," was not identified, but although after a summary lead it was assembled in consecutive dispatches, the length, vivid prose, and use of the first-

⁶⁰ "Fire at Hickman, Ky.," *Gazette*, 8 January, p. 3. In this instance, the telegraph's ability to speed news is moot because the Sunday story's reference to "Wednesday night last" would date the fire less than 150 miles from Nashville to January 4.

⁶¹ "Heart-Sickening Calamity," *Gazette*, 12 January, p. 2.

⁶² "Ruins of Pemberton Mill," *Ibid*.

⁶³ "The Lawrence Calamity," *Gazette*, 13 January, p. 3. Interestingly, a subheadline said "Two Hundred Operatives Burned in the Ruins," although in the last paragraph of the successive dispatches compiled to create the story the anonymous reporter said, "I think it is much over estimated in the number killed," and placed the number of dead or missing at 115.

person are uncharacteristic of telegraph stories in the Gazette at this time. It seems likely this was picked up from one of the exchange papers, some of which had wire reporters at this time.⁶⁴

In general, items found in the Gazette's telegraph column are short in length and detail, and rely on reader knowledge for context and meaning. For instance, an item datelined Independence (Missouri), June 8, reported simply, "Six companies are on the Red Riquer (sic)⁶⁵ after the Indians. The Navajoes (sic) attacked Fort Defiance and were repulsed."⁶⁶ Under the "Washington" headline that day, the column reported, in its entirety, "Senate - Green reported adversely to the Utah petition asking admission as a State."⁶⁷

Examination of succeeding days' papers shows that generally the telegraph news items were not followed up with larger stories taken either from the telegraph or the exchange papers. Exceptions to that finding, however, include the continuing telegraph and exchange coverage of Garibaldi's revolt in Italy, Indian wars in the West, tornadoes in the Midwest, a bloody insurrection in Japan, and the United States' national political contests, which in late spring were a growing staple in the news columns. At first glance,

⁶⁴ See, for instance, "Louisville Journal," Gazette, 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Although typographical and fact errors were not uncommon in the Gazette during the period studied, the telegraph column appeared to have more typos than were found in other news columns.

⁶⁶ Gazette, 9 June, p. 2.

⁶⁷ "From Washington," *ibid.*

the predictive capacity of this analysis suggests conflict or disaster as the salient news values shared by the spartan telegraph reports and fuller accounts from other sources. On closer inspection, however, it might be argued that aside from the weather there was a preoccupation with struggles for legitimacy and self-determination that framed news selection in this period, at least in the South. It is a question that merits further scholarly study.

Telegraph News at Midyear

The number of news stories in June 1860 that relied upon the telegraph (e.g., "The telegraph announces the failure of A.T. Wells, a heavy dealer in dry goods at Memphis. He went in for \$250,000"⁶⁸) exceeds those of January of that year (See Table 1).

Table 1 - Telegraph Use, January/June 1860

	Stories Using Telegraph	Items Mentioning Telegraph
January	2	4
June	8	4

Table shows increased use of the telegraph for news gathering between January and June 1860. Column One includes all stories obtained by information telegraphed to Nashville, except those items appearing in the 'By Telegraph!' column. Since the unit of analysis is the whole story or topic, the June figure tends to mask the use of successive telegraph dispatches (sometimes identified by hour of transmission) to update a single running story. In Column Two, January total includes two advertisements for other papers using the telegraph.

Moreover, in June there appear stories that, in contrast to January, combined individual telegraph reports to produce a

⁶⁸ Gazette, 8 June, p. 3.

separate, fully developed news story.⁶⁹ A June 4 telegraph item datelined Louisville reported, "There was a violent but brief storm of wind and rain this afternoon."⁷⁰ The next day, the telegraph column was marked by a considerably longer-than-average report on the weather, using the Louisville area storms as an organizing point:

The storm North and South of here did great damage, Louisville comparatively escaped. There was a terrible tornado in Eastern Iowa and Northwestern Illinois on the night of the 3d. Camanche, Iowa, and Albany, Illinois, on the opposite side of the river were completely demolished. In the former place, thirty-two dead bodies have been recovered and in the latter some twenty. In Alton, Illinois, the loss by the storm Saturday night exceeded \$100,000, Northern Missouri also suffered extensively.⁷¹

This coverage retained the style of the telegraph column in giving one sentence to a summary of a single news event, but it was exceptional in collecting a number related events under a single, unifying theme: the violent weather. Two days later, however, a relatively unusual approach to news coverage was taken when the *Gazette* appeared to write its own story from telegraph accounts. Datelined "Chicago, June 5," the story began, "From telegraphic dispatches received last night and this morning, we learn the following further particulars

⁶⁹ As near as could be determined from examining other issues of the paper from February through May, this was the first actual combining of separate telegraph reports to form a news narrative.

⁷⁰ *Gazette*, 5 June, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Gazette*, 6 June, p. 2.

of the tornado of Sunday evening."⁷² There followed, in ten paragraphs, an account of the tornado's destruction, organized chronologically and geographically following the line of the storm.

Another change in the approach to the telegraph news occurred later in covering a "Democratic Constitutional Convention," dubbed a "seceder's convention," that met in Richmond, Virginia, in mid-June prior to the Democratic presidential nominating convention in Baltimore later that month. Here there is no suggestion of re-writing telegraph accounts, in fact, earlier items appear relatively intact even when newer developments are appended to them. Thus, on June 14 the Gazette's telegraph column carried an item datelined "Richmond, June 11" that summarized the "program for tomorrow in the Seceder's Convention."⁷³ This story was followed immediately by one datelined "Richmond, June 12" that reported, in the order of the agenda, what took place that day.⁷⁴

In the Baltimore convention coverage, the telegraph was used to update developments, although whether the telegraph

⁷² "Further Particulars of the Great Tornado," Gazette, 8 June, p. 2. The authorship of this story is, of course, conjectural. The analysis here is based on assuming the "we" is an editorial "we" representing the Gazette. Using a Chicago dateline could suggest the compilation was done in that city, but the dateline style of the telegraph column would not preclude using an out-of-town dateline on a locally written story. In any event, whether written in Nashville or elsewhere, the compiling of telegraph news to create a separate story appears to have been a relatively novel approach in the Gazette in early 1860.

⁷³ "Democratic Constitutional Convention," Gazette, 14 June, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

dispatches were incorporated in the full news stories is difficult to determine. For instance, on June 22 the *Gazette* began its coverage with an unattributed story datelined Baltimore, June 20,⁷⁵ that in its flowing prose is not at all like the telegraph copy. This fourteen paragraph story was immediately followed in the news columns by one paragraph dated June 19 and attributed to "Special Despatch (sic)."⁷⁶ In form and approach, this story is much closer to the telegraph style of summarizing rather than chronological development. However, it is not known whether this was indeed a report sent by telegraph. In the sequence of news stories the *Gazette* compiled that day, the next item was a one-paragraph story taken from the *New York Tribune* of June 19,⁷⁷ followed by another "Special Dispatch" dated June 20,⁷⁸ followed by two more short items, both dated June 20 but whose source or authorship was not mentioned.⁷⁹

Besides the news columns' coverage of the parliamentary maneuvering that had gone on at least two days earlier in the convention, the telegraph wire for June 22 provided readers updated information under a June 21 dateline, including the

⁷⁵ *Gazette*, 22 June, p. 2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

latest on a credentials fight.⁸⁰ The telegraph report on the convention led with:

The reading of the Journal was dispensed with when the flooring over the Orchester (sic) gave way letting a portion of the New York and Pennsylvania delegation into the orchestra box. Nobody was hurt but great excitement. A recess of one hour was taken to repair.⁸¹

The Gazette continued to give the convention dual treatment. Traditional coverage came from exchange papers, such as an extensive collection of "exclusive dispatches to the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*"⁸² published June 23 but whose datelines read June 20. As the convention drama grew, however, so did apparent use of the telegraph. In the telegraph column next to the *Cincinnati* exchange stories were two full-fledged convention updates datelined June 22.⁸³ From the customary single summary sentence, telegraph items had grown to four and five paragraphs each.

As the telegraph stories became more expansive, however, they still retained an economy not necessarily found in the exchange papers' accounts. For instance, the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial's* reporter, identified only as "H.M.," provided this colorful rendering of the convention:

The city swarms like a bee hive. All parties know that the fight comes in the morning. Immense crowds fill Monument square. The usual rival mass meetings are simultaneously roaring. Two sets of speakers are *ding-donging* and playing the same old *rub-a-dub* tune for

⁸⁰ "Baltimore Convention," Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² "Aspects of the Third Day," *Gazette*, 23 June, p. 2.

⁸³ "Democratic Convention," *Gazette*, 3 June, p. 3

and against Douglas - a thousand voices keep incessantly crying "Yancey! Yancey! Yancey! - bands playing - Roman candles exploding - side-walks thronged everywhere.⁸⁴

By comparison, the voice of this telegraph story, in its entirety, is constrained:

Baltimore, June 21 - The New York delegation have resolved to sustain the majority report of the Committee on Credentials. An exciting and acrimonious (sic) discussion occurred principally between Montgomery and Randall, of Penn., resulting in a street fight between Randall's son and Montgomery. A duel is anticipated.⁸⁵

This and other examples suggest that the telegraph news was more immediate but also, even when liberated from the single-sentence reports, remained truncated and drier than exchange paper copy. A tornado and the convention give only limited opportunities to assess news by telegraph compared with the paper's traditional newsgathering and presentation. Nevertheless, some of the trade-offs between immediacy and expanded sense of proximity on the one hand, and color and style on the other are apparent in these early examples. However, the telegraph's looming transcendence was attested by the *Gazette's* lead story on Sunday, June 24, 1860, in which appeared the only "today" story detected in this research:

The telegraph *this morning* announces the termination of the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore. The Convention proper nominated Mr. Douglas for the Presidency, and Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, for the Vice Presidency. The Seceders subsequently met in Convention and nominated Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for the Presidency, and Mr. Lane, of Oregon, for the Vice Presidency. Our Democratic friends,

⁸⁴ "Aspects of the Third Day," *Gazette*, 23 June, p. 2.

⁸⁵ "Democratic Convention," *Gazette*, 23 June, p. 2.

therefore, have two tickets to choose from. We congratulate them on their good fortune (emphasis added).⁸⁶

Summary and Conclusion

Examination of Nashville's *Daily Gazette* for January and June 1860 suggests that the telegraph had a growing importance in the paper's newsgathering throughout the first six months of the year. In this relatively short time, the telegraph appears to have become more central to the news budget, going from the role of a cryptic, "headline service," to an indexer of the news, to a supplement to the stories copied from exchange papers, and finally to a sole-provider of news stories. With that change, came a greater sense of immediacy that began to yield news items written from telegraph reports rather than exchange paper reprints. Such coverage was given greater prominence in the paper when the pivotal debates and decisions of the presidential nominations were taking place. The *Gazette* and presumably its competitors apparently could not wait on the customary channels of the exchange papers or make do with the skeleton briefs of the traditional telegraph news columns when momentous events were occurring in far off Baltimore that summer. And with that capability there is a suggestion in reading the news columns that a greater sense of connectedness with other communities outside the local area

⁸⁶ "The Baltimore Convention," *Gazette*, 24 June, p. 2.

may have been taking place.⁸⁷ Whether the apparent changes in news philosophy and practices seen in comparing January and June marked a turning point in coverage and perspective requires further analysis of previous and subsequent publication years and across a wider sample of newspapers.

As exploratory research, this case study yields a number of questions for further research but nonetheless offers a glimpse of the change in the use, importance, and influence of the telegraph in reporting news in the telegraph's infancy. Although the study's scope is limited, it is important in the questions it raises about the effect of the technologies of the day on newsgathering. Also raised in the examination are questions of relationships among competing journalists in a more rough and tumble era,⁸⁸ how journalists used the expanding flow of information reaching their offices, how the typology of news may have been changing at this time as a consequence of the technology, and what themes may have been early, albeit unattended, harbingers of the Civil War in the next year.

⁸⁷ As noted above, the *Gazette* carried extensive exchange paper items from throughout the United States. Closer textual analysis might suggest, however, that with timeliness a factor the news stories suggested greater relevance of non-local news in readers' lives.

⁸⁸ Factors influencing circulation dominance and the economics of competition among early nineteenth-century newspapers emerge from this study as grounds for further research. For instance, Clayton (240) identifies the political leanings of the six Nashville newspapers of 1860-61. The circulation-leading *Gazette* was independent, he says, while the *Nashville Patriot*, *Republican Banner*, and *Nashville News* were Opposition papers and the *Nashville Union and American* was Democratic. The sixth, the *Southern Homestead*, was an apolitical "weekly agriculture and family newspaper." An expanded research program might answer whether despite the issues of the day a neutral paper might claim greater readership than the partisan press.

Rod Serling's "Hegemony Zone."

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Abstract

This research paper traces the changes of a 1956 teleplay by Rod Serling entitled "Noon On Doomsday." Serling based his television script on a true-life event of the mid-1950s, the killing of Emmett Till, a black youth who was lynched in rural Mississippi for "whistling at a white woman." The paper seeks to understand and explain the ideological and extra-media forces that vitiated this powerful drama because it challenged the sensibilities and hegemony of the time.

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Finally a very special thanks to Penelope, my best friend.

Bob Pondillo
March, 1997.

Rod Serling's "Hegemony Zone"

1

On April 26, 1956, writer Rod Serling woke up to bad news. His teleplay, *Noon On Doomsday*, had just been broadcast on the CBS network the night before, a presentation of the United States Steel Hour, and the reviews were not good.

Jack Gould of the *New York Times* dismissed the telecast as "inconsequential." Henry Furst, critic for the *Cincinnati Times-Star* said, "*Noon on Doomsday* is high caliber but probably will not win the lavish praise heaped on [Serling for] *Patterns*." ¹ Serling himself wrote to a columnist friend at *Daily Variety* saying, "for God sakes, Dave, if anybody asks you about *Noon on Doomsday* and its author -- just tell them you never heard of me or it, at least until this goddamned thing settles." ²

Serling later admitted he was "professionally destroyed" by the show, "for about eleven or twelve months. People kept referring to me as 'the guy who wrote that thing.' It also stuck to me that I was now a so-called controversial writer. I read many Southern TV editors' columns where I was spoken of as 'the guy who wrote the Till story.'" ³

What had happened? Serling was suddenly trapped in a new dimension, a dimension of corporate capitalism and extra-media control -- a familiar place where the status quo is praised, dominant sensibilities are rarely challenged, and nothing upsets "the sale." He was caught, and even participated as a willing partner, in a very real yet completely invisible place called the "Hegemony Zone".

How it all began

In late summer of 1955, a true-life event particularly stunned and outraged Serling, as it had the nation. It was the story of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old African-American from Chicago, who was lynched while on vacation in Mississippi for the crime of "whistling at a white woman."

1 Gordon F. Sander, *Serling: The Rise and Twilight of Television's Last Angry Man* (New York, 1992), p. 117. During television's early years, before a national audience rating system was in place, negative newspaper reviews from a few powerful TV critics could hurt a television writer's career. Like opening night on Broadway, TV producers, writers, and actors, waited for the major reviews to gauge success.

2 Rod Serling, letter to Dave Kauffman, April 8, 1956. General correspondence, May 1955 - September 1956, box 6, Rod Serling papers, U.S. Manuscript Collection 43AN, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

3 Robert Alan Aurthur, Rod Serling, Irve Tunick, et al., *The Relation of the Writer to Television* (Santa Barbara, CA: 1960), p. 12. In this transcript of a roundtable discussion, several TV writers of the period relate their experiences and frustrations of writing plays for television in the early 1950s.

Rod Serling's "Hegemony Zone"

2

The drama of the event was palpable to Serling. But could a tragedy so horrible and controversial be turned into a teleplay?

Serling was convinced it was a tale that had to be told, and he saw himself as the writer who could tell it. After all, he had just received the Emmy Award for Best Teleplay of the 1954 season, the critically acclaimed *Patterns*, his 72nd TV script. Although he had written (and seen produced) fifteen more teleplays since *Patterns*, he was still caught in its shadow. Joel Engle, one of Serling's biographers said, "*Patterns* was Serling's *Death of a Salesman*, and [it] established a benchmark for the author's skill."⁴ It was the one script against which all his newer works were being compared.⁵ Could he write another story as powerful? Could he parlay the celebrity of a national Emmy into a play that would change the attitudes of a nation?

It was admittedly a tall order, but Serling was up to the challenge. Another Serling biographer, Gordon Sander, explains:

Like [Norman] Corwin, Arch Obler, and Orson Welles, as well as Clifford Odets and the agitators of the legitimate stage of that era, Serling fervently believed that the theatre of the air, like the other literary arts, in addition to being entertaining, should be both relevant and provocative. Serling saw the dramatist's role in American society as that of an agent of change and a spark to controversy.⁶

Or, as Serling himself said in a speech to the Library of Congress in 1968: "The writer's role is to menace the public's conscience. He must have a position, a point of view. He must see the arts as a vehicle for social criticism and he must focus on the issues of his time."⁷

Would dramatizing the essence of the Emmett Till story be that issue for Serling? What could be more polarizing and morally challenging than the question of racial attitudes in the mid-1950s? But, could he write a TV play which accommodated the needs of commercial network television and which also gripped the soul of a nation?

4 Joel Engle, *Rod Serling: The Dreams and Nightmares of Life in the Twilight Zone* (Chicago, 1989), p. 112.

5 *Patterns* is a play about the character and ethics of big business. It examined white-collar power, human greed and ambition, and suggested one may have to compromise one's decency to be considered a success in the corporate jungle. It was such a controversial teleplay, CBS refused to broadcast it. It was eventually produced, live, on NBC's *Kraft Television Theatre* on January 16, 1955, to rave reviews. On February 9, 1955, the cast reassembled to to present a live, encore performance -- the first time in TV history that had ever happened.

6 Sander, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

7. Rod Serling, speech before Library of Congress, June 30, 1968. General subject file, box 2, Rod Serling papers, U.S. Manuscript Collection, 43AN, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The Emmett Till Story⁸

It was a hot, humid, moonless night in the Mississippi Delta. The southern moss hung thick on the persimmon trees as the cicadas' song droned in the cotton fields. Suddenly, the faint rumble of a new 1955 Chevrolet pickup could be heard. The truck was coming up the back road with its headlights off. It was almost 2 a.m., August 28, 1955.

The half-ton Chevy rolled to a stop next to the shanty home of sharecropper Moses "Preacher" Wright. Two white men stepped out of the cab. One carried a flashlight; both were armed with .45 automatic weapons. They pounded on the front door of the tiny, unpainted cabin. Waking the household, the two men announced they'd come for "the boy from Chicago who wolf-whistled at the white woman."⁹

Moses Wright, the young man's uncle, pleaded with the two men. "The boy ain't got good sense," he said. "He was raised up yonder . . . and . . . didn't know what he was doin'. Please, don't take him," Preacher begged.¹⁰

Wright's wife, Elizabeth, promised to "pay you gentlemen for the damages," but the two men, Roy Bryant, 24, and J.W. Milam, 36, could not be mollified.

"You niggers go back to sleep," ordered Milam, as he roused up one of the four youngsters sleeping there that night.¹¹

The boy they kidnapped and threw onto the bed of their green pickup was Emmett Till, a

8 Some historians argue the Till murder was the seminal event that marked the actual beginning of the modern American civil rights movement. The Emmett Till murder occurred a year after the Brown V. Board of Education school desegregation decision, and the same year as "Brown II", the follow-up ruling requiring public schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed." It also came three months before Rosa Parks' refusal which triggered the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott and launched the career of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and came five years before the Greensboro, North Carolina sit-in movement. Civil rights organizer Medgar Evers was shot to death in Jackson, Mississippi eight years later. See, Alan Axelrod and Charles Phillips, *What Every American Should Know About American History: 200 Events that Shaped the Nation* (Holbrook, MA., 1992), pp. 311-314.

9 Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta* (Baltimore, 1988), p. 20.

10 William Bradford Huie, "Approved Killing in Mississippi", *Look*, 20: 46-49, January 24, 1956.

11 *Ibid*.

14-year-old eighth-grader from just outside of Chicago. He had come south to spend part of his summer vacation with his cousins in the Delta. It would be his last summer.

Till's naked body was found less than three days later in the Tallahatchie River at Pecan Point. It was described as "hideously decomposed." Only the lower half of the badly beaten corpse protruded from the water, because the upper half had a cotton gin fan, weighing about 74 pounds, attached to it with barbed wire, suggesting terrible torture. The left side of Till's head was missing. His tongue had swollen to eight times its normal size, and one eye dangled. There was a bullet hole above his right ear.¹²

The *Jackson Daily News*, one of the two dailies in the state capital, called the slaying "a brutal, senseless crime and just incidentally one which merits not one iota of sympathy for the killers. The people of Mississippi deplore this evil act. Till's death has appalled Mississippi." A front-page editorial in the *Greenwood Commonwealth* asserted that "the citizens of this area are determined that the guilty parties be punished to the full extent of the law."¹³ Its editor, Tom Shepard, called the "nauseating" killing "way, way beyond the bounds of human decency."¹⁴ The NAACP got involved. *Time* and *Newsweek* printed stories, as did the *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Associated Press*. All of America -- indeed the world -- was made aware of the death of Emmett Till.

Soon the wagons began forming a circle. The highly publicized trial of Bryant and Milam began Monday, September 19, 1955, in Sumner, Mississippi. As the macabre details of the lynching poured from the town, outrage and protests from the North and East began filtering into the state. Between 50 and 70 reporters from across the country descended upon the small cotton growing community, and many white Mississippians began to hunker down to protect their own. Local pride and self-sufficiency was at stake. The primacy of states' rights became so urgent, the feelings of defensiveness so raw and exposed, that the cold-blooded murder of a young black kid seemed secondary. "The court proceedings produced front-page coverage throughout the nation. Probably not since the trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann in the death of the Lindbergh baby

¹² Whitfield, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁴ William Bradford Huie, "What's Happened to The Emmett Till Killers?", *Look*, 21 63-68, January 22, 1957.

two decades earlier had a kidnap-murder case generated so much front page publicity."¹⁵

In 1955, neither blacks nor women were permitted to serve on Mississippi juries. The twelve peers of Bryant and Milam included nine farmers, two carpenters and an insurance agent. All five Bryant and Milam defense lawyers worked pro bono.¹⁶ Their strategy was to appeal to Mississippi's "Anglo-Saxon" traditions and plant doubt in the mind of the jurors that the corpse had been correctly identified.¹⁷

Years after the state had rested its case, the five defense lawyers -- the entire Sumner County bar -- would admit to Hugh Stephen Whitacre, a graduate student studying the Till case, that prosecutors had presented "sufficient evidence to convict." Even the jurors later confessed that not a single member of the panel doubted the defendants were guilty of murder.¹⁸

Still, on September 23, 1955, after a jury deliberation of one hour and seven minutes (the verdict would have come sooner but the jurors decided to take a Coca-Cola break), Bryant and Milam were found not guilty of the death of Emmett Till.¹⁹ The shock wave of the acquittal was felt throughout the nation.

Serling's First Draft²⁰

The first and most passionate draft of Serling's *Noon On Doomsday* script centers on the character of John Kattell, a white man in his early 20s, who knifes to death a black man, Henry Clemson Washington, 19, in the town square of Demerest, Georgia. Kattell is written as a drunken bully, full of rage and racial hate who lashes out at those weaker than he. The play is narrated by a Caucasian northern newspaperman, Chester Lanier. (See Figure 1 foldout.)

Washington's body is found immediately, and there are witnesses. Moreover, the town sheriff arrests Kattell at the scene and takes him to jail. (In the actual event Sheriff Harold C.

¹⁵ Whitfield, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁶ Whitfield, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁷ Huie, *loc. cit.* Huie, a Southern born writer, was criticized for paying for interviews for his *Look* magazine articles of the Till murder.

¹⁸ Whitfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-50.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Rod Serling papers, 1943-1962, box 79, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Rod Serling's "Hegemony Zone"

6

Strider of Tallahatchie County said he could not conclude the body found was that of Till -- there were no witnesses. Later, it was proven the body was that of Emmett Till's.²¹)

A local newspaper stringer, Ben Tyler -- portrayed as a sleazy, clubfooted little man, more of the town's chamber of commerce spokesperson than a hard-news reporter -- sends a "murder-by-self-defense" story to an Atlanta paper. The full story eventually is reported by the Associated Press. The Northern "liberal" press converges on the small Southern city to cover the trial.

Town attorney Bob Grinstead defends Kattell. We find out later that Frank Grinstead, Bob's father, now the town drunk, was once a respected town attorney as well, but was driven to drink and near-madness by a lynching, of which he (Frank) was a part, 30 years earlier.

A jury of townspeople acquits Kattell of the death of the black man. During a big celebration after the verdict, an incensed Frank Grinstead confronts the drunken Kattell at the town square. Kattell kills Grinstead with the same knife he used to kill the black man. In his death, Grinstead is symbolically vindicated from the lynching 30 years earlier. Kattell runs off and is shot to death by the sheriff.

Serling knew he had an explosive play in this story but, because of the racial taboos of the times, didn't think it would work on television.²² Instead, he brought the idea to The Theater Guild as a possible legitimate stage play.²³ Serling later said that most writers of his time who "probe current social problems [using] them as background pieces on television . . . precursor" themselves automatically.²⁴

Lawrence Langer, Director of the Guild, who produced teleplays for the United States Steel Hour on CBS (and who coincidentally was looking for a project) said, "I think you have the bone

21 Whitfield, *op cit.*, p. 41.

22 The author found that Serling wrote several drafts of *Noon on Doomsday*, at least six for TV and another for a legitimate stage production that would be performed on a Westport, CT stage, or so Serling hoped. After the television version was panned, the stage adaptation, although a much more complete and powerful piece of writing, was never presented. Based on Serling's personal correspondence with various writing agents, the television script was also "shopped" as a motion picture vehicle for actor Richard Widmark. Again, after the TV broadcast version, the movie idea withered and died. See Rod Serling papers, 1943-1962, general correspondence, box 6, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

23 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, p.10.

24 *Ibid.*

structure of a very effective television play and I don't think you'll have to dilute it at all."²⁵ Langer then promptly went about diluting it by telling Serling he couldn't make it a teleplay dealing with racial issues. Serling explained such a thematic change would "eliminate a great deal of the [story's] built-in emotional" power.²⁶ Langer said that if he wanted to get the idea "green-lighted", there would have to be that one small change. Here was the first overt example of extra-media influence (i.e., outside influence by sponsors, advertisers, target-audiences, and the marketplace itself), but certainly not the last, in what turned out to be a creative nightmare for Serling.

Although he felt the heart had been cut out of his script, Serling pressed ahead with a draft for The Theater Guild and Batton, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., the advertising agency representing United States Steel.²⁷

Serling's Second Draft²⁸

The second draft of *Noon On Doomsday* was the first full script submitted by The Theatre Guild to BBD&O and United States Steel. This incarnation was an all-white version in which Serling made the murder victim an elderly Jewish pawnbroker²⁹ who dies at the hands of a neurotic malcontent. Serling said, "[it's now] the story of a town protecting its own on a 'he's a bastard, but he's our bastard' kind of basis. Thus, the town itself was the real killer."³⁰ This version of Serling's script didn't pinpoint the state, but the action was set in a small Southern border town somewhere "below the Mason-Dixon line."³¹ (See Figure 1 foldout.)

Serling speaks about the horrific power of racism in this draft by introducing a Jewish photographer who comments on the palpable town bigotry and xenophobia. Frank Grinstead, the pathetic drunk in draft one, now becomes a respectable attorney who was indirectly involved in a

²⁵ Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ The author spoke with Mary Muenkel, archivist at the International Resource Library at BBD&O, New York. She told the author no production records, memos, or notes were kept by the agency for *Noon on Doomsday*.

²⁸ Rod Serling Papers, 1943-1962, box 79, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

²⁹ Whitfield, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³⁰ Engle, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³¹ Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *loc. cit.*

town lynching 30 years earlier. The elder Grinstead is haunted by a dream sequence which recalls the terror and injustice of the racial murder. By using this dramatic device the audience gets to witness the lynching, complete with the specter of anonymous hooded men who come to kill in the night.

Serling's jury of eight white men and seven white women (there were 12 white men in the actual Till trial -- no women or blacks were permitted to serve on Southern juries at that time) acquitted Kattell in one hour and seventeen minutes. In the Till trial you'll recall the jury took only one hour and seven minutes to acquit Bryant and Milam.

The second draft includes a town celebration in which the older Grinstead confronts Kattell, proving the murderer's cowardice. The town, which protected "its own", now shuns him and Kattell must, for the remainder of his life, live with the shame and guilt of the cold blooded murder of an old man. Similar consequences befell Millam, one of Till's killers. In a *Look* article a year after the Till killing, author William Bradford Huie revisited Mississippi and found Milam had been ostracized from "the white people in his own county who [had previously] defended" him.³²

Serling was pleased with the second draft of his play. His message, he thought, had been couched well enough to appease, while allowing a large majority of the viewing audience to comprehend the ramifications of the real tragedy -- mankind's need to find a scapegoat for its own deficiencies. The script was eventually accepted as a dramatic offering in the United States Steel Hour, an anthology network television series.

Serling was ecstatic. He wrote to friends, "*Noon on Doomsday* . . . is the shining light of my life."³³ Moreover, he needed a hit. None of his teleplays were as critically acclaimed as his earlier *Patterns*³⁴ and in other personal correspondence he dejectedly wrote, "If I fail on this one [*Noon on Doomsday*] I think I'll want to give up entirely . . . It makes [me] feel if my best is not

32 Huie, *loc. cit.*

33 Rod Serling, letter to Mr. & Mrs. Jack Natteford, January 21, 1956, general correspondence, May 1955-September 1956, box 6, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

34 Sander, *op. cit.*, p. xvii

good enough, I might as well walk away from the ring."³⁵

Serling's Third and Fourth Drafts³⁶

One day in early February 1956, while discussing the proposed play with a newspaper reporter, Serling casually gave him a brief outline of the story. The reporter said, "That sounds like the Till case." Serling said, "If the shoe fits ...," which he later admitted, "was a little bit idiotic to say."³⁷ (See Figure 1 foldout.)

The wire services picked up the story that The Theater Guild was about to produce a television play based on the Till murder. That's when "all hell broke loose," wrote Serling. The Southern White Citizens Councils became outraged and threatened a major boycott of United States Steel. Serling joked, "Does that mean from now on everybody below the Mason-Dixon line is going to build with aluminum?" Actually, United States Steel feared that the Ford Motor plant would pull steel orders because of an "industrial public relations" problem Ford was having with white and African-American workers on their Southern assembly lines. Air the show in the South, they warned, and race relations would be set back five years.³⁸ CBS was even asked to black out the show in the Southern markets -- which they refused to do.

Serling was immediately summoned to New York. There he looked into the ashen faces of executives from BBD&O, CBS, the Theater Guild, and United States Steel. "You know," they sputtered, "the whole thing must be completely altered."³⁹ Serling said:

[T]hey then proceeded to say what had to be done to the script. It could bear no resemblance remotely, in context or otherwise, to the South or any existing institutions in the South. It had to be moved up. I agreed to move it up just as long as we didn't pinpoint it geographically. They said, no, that it must be pinpointed geographically to prove it was not in the South. So they made it New England. This, of course, was the most ludicrous of all the alterations imposed, because the sort of emotional mob stuff that

35 Rod Serling, letter to Mr. & Mrs. Jack Natteford, *op cit*.

36 Rod Serling papers, 1943-1962, box 71, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

37 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *loc. cit*

38 *Ibid*

39 *Ibid*.

was going on is now foreign to New England.⁴⁰

BBD&O removed the Coca-Cola sign from the set of the diner, saying it was obviously "a Southern drink."⁴¹ (In the 1950s, advertisers readily asserted that they could not afford to have their products known as "Negro products."⁴²) It was suggested the word *lynch*⁴³ be omitted, contractions removed, and the letter *g* added to all participles and gerunds, so that nobody would be talking with what the extra-media forces (i.e., the sponsor and advertising agency) called a "drawl."⁴⁴

A side-by-side script comparison (See Figure 1 in foldout) shows that by draft three and four, the play was beginning to take on the appearance of the final TV show. More cuts were made of any specific ethnic or religious appearances. The Jewish photographer character is excised, along with his potent comments on religious and ethnic hatred. The murdered old man is

40 *Ibid.* The West Roxbury and South Boston antibussing riots and killings were as much a symbol of white racism in New England in 1974 as Selma, Alabama had been in 1964, and the Delta of Mississippi had been in 1954. David Wellman, in his book *Portraits of White Racism*, (Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. xviii, 35, 41) says, "[R]acism is quite characteristically American and . . . it can be found in different forms throughout the class structure." For an excellent discussion of covert northern racism see Ronald Formisano's book *Boston Against Bussing: Race Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (UNC Press: Chapel Hill, 1991.)

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Ibid.* Also, Serling said in other scripts he had been "called upon to make alterations in some of the dialogue. I was asked not to use the words 'American' or 'lucky.' Instead, the words were to be changed to 'United States' and 'fortunate.' The explanation was that this particular program was sponsored by a cigarette company and that 'American' and 'lucky' connoted a rival brand of cigarettes." According to broadcast historian Erik Barnouw, in another case, the word "gas" had to be excised from a script dealing with the Nuremberg trials and the Nazi death camps. It seems the sponsor, the natural gas industry, objected. Some ad agencies intensely scrutinized the words and action of major characters in scripts. In shows where two cigarette companies had similar programming, a tobacco policy was issued by the sponsors. The cigarette company that made filtered cigarettes indicated its policy was to have the drama's villain smoke non-filter cigarettes. The other company, which made non-filter cigarettes, ordered the bad guy smoke a filter brand. "The association of the client's (cigarette) product with a villain, murder or whatever, is certainly something to be avoided," said an advertising executive testifying before the FCC in 1959, says Barnouw in his book, *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate* (New York, 1979), p. 51-55. Some advertisers argued that their products were designed to "cheerfully" raise the standard of living for average Americans. Advertising agencies bitterly complained the TV dramas being written were too "real" and depressing for the general public.

43 Engle, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

44 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *loc. cit.*

no longer an elderly Jew but a "foreigner from the old country." The old man's daughter's name is Anglicized from Esther, an ancient biblical name⁴⁵, to Felicia. The action is still set in a Southern city, but it's not clear exactly where. In the fourth draft, the setting is clearly changed to New England with no southern referents in speech, dress, or cultural artifacts.

In draft three, there was an usual, puzzling addition. Kattell was made to own a competing store to Chinik's. Kattell was angry that the foreigner was "undercutting his prices and stealing his customers."⁴⁶ Such a change switched the motivation for murder to greed as well as xenophobia, and in so doing implicated the American system of capitalism. The competition idea was abandoned in the fourth draft and would never again surface in successive drafts.

The Fifth or "Rehearsal" Draft⁴⁷

By draft five, the teleplay is no longer a tension-filled, dramatic and compelling polemic on racial hatred, bigotry, and ignorance. The story's dramatic focus is diverted from the true meaning of the murder and is diffused among the relationships between the defense attorney and his father, an obvious (if not completely developed) love relationship between the reporter and the murdered man's daughter, the town's relationship with the killer, and the reporter's need to confront his own lack of courage because of a physical deformity. Also, some speeches are shortened and a love interest between the reporter, Lanier, and the murdered old man's daughter, Felicia, is toned down. The only salient points which remain intact from the actual event in this, the rehearsal draft, is the idea of a small xenophobic town wanting to protect its prodigal son from outsiders screaming for a conviction. (See Figure 1 foldout.)

The Show is Telecast, Responses are Negative

On April 25, 1956 The United States Steel Hour presented Rod Serling's *Noon on Doomsday*, part of their nationally televised anthology series on CBS. The critical responses from the television industry ranged from tepid praise to simply dismissing the program as a non-event.

45 And Serling's mother's name.

46 Rod Serling *Noon on Doomsday* TV script January 26, 1956, Act 1, p. 37, 1943-1962, box 71, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

47 Rod Serling papers, 1943-1962, box 71, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

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The day following the broadcast, one television viewer, a Mr. M. Kroll of the Bronx, New York, sent the following sarcastic three-line post card to Serling:

Dear Mr. Serling:
May I congratulate you on your effort not to offend your sponsor U.S. Steel.
I am sure if Emmett Till could, he would thank you for at least basing your drama on his murder.
Finally, may I congratulate you on your unimpeachable writer's integrity. I'm sure your script fee will be a soothing balm for your conscience.
A crank named,
M. Kroll⁴⁸

In a surprising response, Serling wrote:

All of us in television eventually reach [a] crossroads of conscience where we have to pause and ask ourselves whether or not it is best to give in and let at least something be said, or uphold principle to the last, with the result that nothing is said.

I may be wrong, but I felt that NOON ON DOOMSDAY made itself heard. It did it obliquely and sometimes badly. But the words were there. And they stated quite clearly the extension of prejudice is violence; that prejudice is ugly, dirty and dangerous -- no matter what level it exists on, or what group it is aimed at.

A few more postcards like yours Mr. Kroll, and I'll cease trying to say something I believe in. I'll stick to Dragnet and the Lux Video Theater. My writing will hardly be memorable, but there'll be no bad taste. It'll offend no one in terms of morality.

Oh Christ, I know what motivated your card and all I have to say is that we're on the same side. The identical same side. Only how the hell would you have guys like me beat a system, a medium, and the whole goddamned steel company? If you've got an idea -- shoot it out collect.⁴⁹

Serling's intemperate final paragraph speaks volumes as to the frustration he felt over the way ideological level and extra-media mass communications forces had the power to change media content.

Theory/Definitions

Mass media theorists Shoemaker and Reese focus on how, what, and why specific societal and cultural forces distort or otherwise change media content. In *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, Shoemaker and Reese pull together most of the relevant content-influence theories, and they have synthesized their findings into five levels of analysis: the individual level, the media routines/small group level, the organizational level, the extra-media

⁴⁸ M. Kroll, postal card to Rod Serling, April 26, 1956, general correspondence, May 1955-September 1956, box 6, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁴⁹ Rod Serling, letter to M. Kroll, May 12, 1956, general correspondence, May 1955- September 1956, box 6, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

level, and the ideological level. Each level, from micro to macro, in some way mediates the messages of mass media.⁵⁰

But to add clarity to Shoemaker and Reese's work, we must also look at their media model within the cultural context of consciousness, ideology, and hegemony.

Althusser first pointed out:

ideology has very little to do with 'consciousness'. . . . It is profoundly *un-conscious* (emphasis his). . . . Ideology is indeed a system of representation, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images, occasionally concepts, but it is above all as *structures* (emphasis his) that they impose on the vast majority men, not via their 'consciousness'. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on men via a process that escapes them.⁵¹

Lull uses the metaphor of a fish in water to explain consciousness in a culture. He says that since "fish don't problematize the water in which they swim, audience(s)...don't always analyze how their everyday environments, including media symbols, shape their thinking."⁵² We can conclude that consciousness reflects the continuous, repetitive, redundant quality of the dominant culture's messages which, inevitably, inculcates a system of values, beliefs and behaviors in audience members. If consciousness reflects the messages by those who control the forms of symbolic communication, then the mass media, according to Gramsci, are the ideological tools the ruling elite use to "perpetuate their [own] power, wealth, and status [by popularizing] their own philosophy, culture and morality."⁵³ Why are not dominant ideas and philosophies simply rejected by the subordinate classes? It is because control of the mass media by the ruling elite is just one piece of a much larger power puzzle. Other "messages supportive of the status quo emanating from schools, business, political organizations, trade unions, religious groups, the military and the mass media [emphasis mine] all dovetail together ideologically. This . . . mutually reinforcing process of ideological influence is the essence of hegemony."⁵⁴

Using the levels of analysis model by Shoemaker and Reese and the concept of hegemony,

50 Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories and Influence on Mass Media Content*, 2nd ed. (White Plains, NY, 1996), pp. 4-9.

51 Dick Hebdige, "From Culture to Hegemony", *Sources: Notable Selections in Mass Media*, eds. Janice Hanson and David J. Maxcy (Guilford, CT, 1996.) p. 248.

52 James Lull, *Media Communication and Culture: A Global Approach* (New York, 1995), p. 22.

53 Carl Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism* (London, 1976), p. 39.

54 Lull, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

let us try to understand what happened to Serling's script. The discussion will focus primarily on three areas: the individual media-worker level (the writer/dramatist), the extra-media level (the sponsor/ad agency), and the ideological level (the hegemonic power level). The organizational, and media routines levels will be less scrutinized because the actual script vitiation occurred not at the organizational, or owner/operator level (although CBS tacitly approved all changes), and not at the media routines level, or structural level (although United States Steel felt the stress of having to change the content of a potentially controversial television program to which they had committed themselves.)

To define and add context to the discussion, here is an interpretation of what Shoemaker and Reese present as their five levels of influence on mass media content.

Individual level traits are described as "factors intrinsic" to the media worker (i.e., the journalist or television dramatist). These factors would include education, ethics, political attitudes, religious values and beliefs, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and whether the media workers view themselves as a neutral transmitter of information or an active participant in the story.⁵⁵ The evidence suggests that Serling saw himself as an active participant in the story. He was stunned and angered at the *Look* articles on the murder of Till, written by William Randolph Huie. These stories were the spark that, according to Serling, "gave vent to a dramatic treatment of a small town where a member of a minority is murdered and the town reacts with a general feeling of grief."⁵⁶

Serling also spoke to interviewer Mike Wallace about the vitiation of his teleplay:

"In 'Noon on Doomsday', which was based on the Till case, I wrote the script using black and white skinned characters, then the black was changed to suggest, 'an unnamed foreigner,' the locale was moved from the South to New England -- I'm convinced they would have gone to Alaska or the North Pole and used Eskimos except that the costume problem was of sufficient severity not to attempt it. But it became a[n] emasculated kind of show. I went down fighting [the sponsor and ad agency], thinking in a strange, oblique, philosophical way, 'better say something than nothing'."⁵⁷

Media routines/small group level are classified as the predictable, recurring, standardized patterns of gathering and presenting information. A media routine gives structure,

55 Shoemaker and Reese, *op cit.*, p. 65.

56 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op cit.*, p. 10.

57 The Mike Wallace Show, CBS-TV, October, 1959.

form, and timeliness to the media product. Time, space, competitive pressures, and deadlines are constraints media workers must routinize in order to facilitate the work of the media organization. In short, without an information gathering and presentation routine, the newspaper paper would never get out, the newscast would never get on, the television dramatist's script would never be broadcast.⁵⁸

United States Steel had committed time and resources for the timely production of this network television offering. When script changes started taking place, other media routines were disrupted. New sets had to be constructed, casting different actors needed to be considered, the availability of studios and technicians had to be rescheduled. Changes at any one level affects every other level of organizational behavior and, in so doing, changes media content.

The organizational level has a critical and pervasive, if not readily identifiable, modifying effect on media content. This is the owner/operator level. It is here determined who is hired and fired, what policies are set and enforced, where the corporate culture is established, and the degree of editorial independence the programming department has in relationship to sales and marketing.⁵⁹ In this case, the owner/operator was the CBS television network. The extent of its interest in the program was to make certain the client, United States Steel, was happy with the "television product."⁶⁰

Also, 1956, the year in which Serling wrote *Noon on Doomsday*, "saw the beginning of the shift of power from the network itself to the agencies and independent packagers, whose overriding concern was of necessity the attraction of the largest number of consumers and the alienation of the fewest."⁶¹

Extra-media factors that influence media content include: sponsors, advertisers, target audience concerns, social institutions, government, the marketplace itself, technology, and the

⁵⁸ Shoemaker and Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-164

⁶⁰ The United States Steel Hour, though paid for by the United States Steel Corporation, and broadcast on CBS, is still considered the property of The Theatre Guild, New York. Holdings are administered by Ben Aslan, Esq.

⁵⁹ Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 3. Also, as is pointed out in this document, in 1953-1955, when the balance of power was with the networks, writers were freest to write. These were the days of the much heralded Studio One, Lux Video Theatre, and Playhouse 90.

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various sources chosen for news or dramatic writing.⁶² It is this level over which The Theatre Guild, BBD&O advertising agency, and United States Steel would hold sway. Clearly, based on Serling's writings, once the script was sold, the original producer, The Theatre Guild, abandoned Serling altogether. The Theater Guild and the advertising agency were actively involved in line by line script changes. Serling said the Guild:

... supported the agency right on down the line. I received not one bit of support from [the Guild], though it was through their good offices that the script was submitted...in the first place ... [T]his was capitulation of the worse sort, because suddenly it left the writer totally culpable and without support.⁶³

Serling was stunned because he had done what was asked of him. Initially, The Theatre Guild said the script could not speak of "black and white" issues, and that, ostensibly, is the teleplay Serling delivered in his second draft -- although there was considerable racial sub text. The "backtracking" exhibited by the Guild prompted Serling to write:

...[I]t's been my experience that when you have submitted a script within a certain framework ordered by a producer, he will then fight with you, on your side. As often as not, he will not win, but at least you have an ally. In this case I was completely alone.⁶⁴

It seems clear that Serling understood that, if he wished to get an explosively controversial (or non-dominant) point of view broadcast in the American system he would need the influence, participation, and cooperation of powerful extra-media forces.

Also, one must consider the political climate in the America of mid-twentieth century. These were anxious times. After World War II, as the Cold War began, a paranoid trio of ex-FBI men organized the American Business Consultants, Inc. They distributed a newsletter called *Counterattack* to the advertising agencies along Madison Avenue. In it they listed names of "reds" (i.e., "creative community" people -- writers, directors, etc.) who should be blacklisted by agencies or sponsors. They also published a book, *Red Channels*, claiming to expose Communism in network programming and naming over 150 men and women as "card carrying Communists."⁶⁵ As part of the McCarthy hearings, the counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on

62 Shoemaker and Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 184-186, 190-191, 194-199.

63 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, pg. 11.

64 *Ibid.*

65 American Business Consultants, *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* (New York, 1950).

Governmental Operations Roy Cohn launched investigations of prominent Hollywood actors, writers, producers, and directors.⁶⁶ This hysteria and blacklist-mania "helped to fasten on television in its childhood years a terror of 'controversial' people and 'controversial' topics -- a phobia that tended to stunt its development."⁶⁷

The ideological level can be defined as "the natural outgrowth of the way a system operates."⁶⁸ Ideology governs the way we perceive what is "natural" or "obvious." Ideology is fluid and constantly negotiating with popular culture and thereby adapting to the organizational and extra-media requirements of society. The media is said to have ideological power because of its ability to define a situation as deviant, reaffirm social norms, and draw (or redraw) cultural boundaries. So, ideology gives society meaning in ways similar to culture. Unlike culture, however, ideology's meaning is tied to power and economic, social, and class interests. The mass media serve as an extension of society's powerful interests, and, in so doing, control and reproduce the dominant ideology -- in the case of western industrialized cultures, capitalism.⁶⁹

Williams defines ideology as a "set of ideas which arises from a given set of material interests, or, more broadly, from a definite class or group."⁷⁰ Hall agrees but says ideology shapes and maintains social class divisions, not just economic authority.⁷¹ Thompson explains that in western democratic cultures, there is only "dominant ideology" where symbolic forms are used by those in power to "establish and sustain relations of domination."⁷² Lull synthesizes the lot by pointing out, "socioeconomic elites are able to saturate society with their preferred ideological agenda because they control the institutions that dispense symbolic forms of communication, including the mass media."⁷³ In any society, power and prestige are companions. In television,

66 Alan Axelrod, Charles Phillips, *What Every American Should Know About American History: 200 Events that Shaped the Nation* (Holbrook, MA., 1992) pp. 300-302.

67 Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate* (New York, 1978), p. 44.

68 Shoemaker and Reese, *op cit.*, pp. 221-224.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 227-230.

70 Raymond Williams, *Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, (New York, 1976), p. 156.

71 Stuart Hall, "Culture, Media and the 'Ideological Effect'", in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, and J. Wollacott (eds), *Mass Communication and Society* (London, 1977) p. 333.

72 John Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 58.

73 Lull, *op. cit.*, p 8.

they are inseparable.

It is in this theoretical context that I focus on what happened to Serling, one media worker at the individual level, when confronted with the power of ideological and extra-media level control.

Discussion

This paper is really a story about what wasn't shown on television, not what eventually was broadcast. (See Figure 1 foldout.) The television network, Theatre Guild, ad agency, and giant corporate underwriter discussed in this paper were all members of the controlling, ideological elite. Each was involved in protecting and maintaining a system that assured handsome profit and power. By using television to control the ideas and images transmitted to the culture, the elite secure the legitimacy of the owning class's political and economic might.

Serling's original play was intended to emancipate a society by examining the "chronic problem" of repressed racism, but in so doing, his ideas collided with powerful hegemonic forces. Parenti says, "Capitalism has no loyalty to anything but its own process of capital accumulation, no loyalty to anything but itself."⁷⁴ It becomes obvious then, that the prime objective in capitalism is to protect private profitability not to broadcast ideas that challenge hegemony. The Serling teleplay's realism and moral relevance matter little to mass communication as commodity. What needed to be protected was the American commercial system of broadcasting. Ultimately, this "bubble of protection" determines the content of television. Moreover, the concept of a "real" or "morally relevant" story was -- and is -- anathema to commercial television says Kellner. A realistic "narrative that simply reproduces the current form of society as 'natural' . . . [is] *actually subversive* (my emphasis) . . . in the falsely idealized television universe . . . A . . . 'realistic' picture could subvert the image of American society perpetrated by the television world, where society's chronic problems and worst failures have generally been repressed."⁷⁵

Clearly then, what TV doesn't say to and about our culture is just as important as what it does say. "Television," explains Gitlin, "inscribes images of the acceptable that go beyond its

⁷⁴ Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality* (New York: 1986), pp. 2-24.

⁷⁵ Douglas Kellner, "TV, Ideology, and Emancipatory Popular Culture", *Television: The Critical View*, third edition, ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: 1982) pp. 410-411.

stereotypes of men and women, blacks and whites, history and domesticity . . . and we don't even need to tune in . . . to [be] affected by the look and values that TV radiates . . . [The networks] are not *trying* (his emphasis) to stimulate us to thought, or inspire us to belief, or remind us of what it is to be human . . . what they're trying to do is 'hook' us . . . By its sheer inertia, network television convinces most Americans that the forms they see are the proper forms of entertainment, even of culture."⁷⁶

Serling's early *Noon On Doomsday* script took a hard, unflinching look at bigotry and racism yet that teleplay did not get broadcast in the America of 1956. Why? Because, according to Parenti, TV not only "sells" a "particular product, [it] sell[s] an entire way of life, a way of experiencing social reality that is compatible with the needs of a mass product, mass consumption, capitalistic society . . . [I]ndustry confines the social imagination and cultural experience of millions, teaching people to define their needs . . . according to the dictates of the commodity market."⁷⁷

So just what was United States Steel "selling" in the sponsorship of this television program? After all, the average consumer does not have a daily need to buy a ton of steel coil, an I-beam, or yards of steel sheeting. In this case, United States Steel was selling "goodwill," an image, and what Parenti calls "the American System", an inseparable joining of capitalism and Americanism "led by the oil, chemical, and steel companies, big business fills the airwaves . . . with celebrations of the 'free market.'"⁷⁸ Corporate image advertising, directed at influencing the public on political or ideologic issues (as opposed to selling products), amounted to one-third of all the money spent on network advertising in 1956.⁷⁹

Also, this was an "era when publicists, politicians, and intellectuals were fond of sharp contrasts between American democracy and Communist tyranny."⁸⁰ BBD&O -- "one of the most

⁷⁶ Todd Gitlin, *Inside Prime Time* (New York: 1985), p. 333 - 334.

⁷⁷ Parenti, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷⁸ Parenti, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ Barnow, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸⁰ Whitfield, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

conservative agencies"⁸¹ of the time -- tried to keep not only United States Steel but all of its clients' network television involvement free of "race relations stories".⁸² Such stories were seen as bad for business. Indeed, advocating more power for the southern African-American was regarded by many -- including the FBI -- as a position which smacked of "Communist leanings."⁸³ The simple threat of boycott by the white citizens' organizations against United States Steel, should the original teleplay be shown, literally terrified that "bastion of the fortune 500".

Conclusions

One may be appalled but not surprised at how Rod Serling's teleplay was handled by the emerging television medium. After all, television of that era was not established as a vehicle for true public discourse; indeed it still is not. TV's need for media workers -- writers, directors, actors, musicians, costumers, set designers -- exists only to the extent of having the worker create a positive environment in which to sell products. Any idea which might be considered controversial surrounding the sponsor's product thus threatened the product and its manufacturer. To the agency and the sponsor, it made no sense to associate with a show that would hurt business, no matter how important the program's message.

It's difficult to fathom, but a 1945 national Gallup survey asked respondents: "Do you know what television is?" and "Have you ever seen a television set in operation?"⁸⁴ In 1949 only

⁸¹ Barnow, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ George Comstock, "Television and Human Behavior", *Understanding Television: Essays on Television as a Social and Cultural Force*, ed. Richard P. Adler (New York: 1981), p. 35.

2.3% of American homes had television receivers,⁸⁵ but in less than five years "the number of TV sets in the U.S. . . . increased from 12 million . . . to 32 million."⁸⁶ With explosive growth like this, sponsors simply could not stay out of television. Those who advertised on the emerging medium told astonishing success stories. In a round table discussion, a television writer of the period, Robert Alan Aurthur, related the story of Reynolds Aluminum: "They had bought and stored enormous quantities of aluminum when the Korean War started thinking the price would go up. When it didn't, they were stuck with warehouses full of aluminum. So they bought a television show specifically to get rid of it. And they did. They emptied the warehouses."⁸⁷

Another case was Hazel Bishop lipsticks, doing \$50,000 in annual sales, took up TV advertising in 1950, and sales zoomed to \$4.5 million by 1952 and continued up. As this new medium changed the mass marketing and advertising paradigm, all the major industries of the nation *had* to get into television or be left behind. And all felt they had to be identified with some kind of programming. A vice president of the Association of National Advertisers said if advertisers "could not be identified with a particular program of their choice, they could not justify, for simple economic reasons, their present investment in television and would feel impelled to withdraw."⁸⁸

85 Douglas Cater, "Television and Thinking People", *Understanding Television: Essays on Television as a Social and Cultural Force*, ed. Richard P. Adler (New York: 1981), p. 11. Also, Kerbel suggests the mere proliferation of television, growing from less than 10,000 TV sets-in-use in 1946 to over thirty million in 1955, was the single most important development putting an end to live, anthology drama. There were more sets-in-use in 1956 but their owners were not interested in watching anthology drama -- or so the ratings suggest. Apparently, anthology drama is a niche specific genre that attracts a "smaller" (by TV standards) but loyal audience. Such audience-specific programming did not work for advertisers of the era looking to attract tens of millions of potential customers by the single sponsorship of a TV show. It is argued that a "controversial program" aimed at smaller, more targeted audiences could find a home--and advertisers to support non-hegemonic themes--on cable television of today. Unfortunately for Serling, niche marketing as it's now called (or narrowcasting) wouldn't become a serious sales strategy for another three decades. See, Michael Kerbel, "The Golden Age of TV Drama", *Television: The Critical View*, third edition, ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: 1982) p. 57.

86 Michael Kerbel, "The Golden Age of TV Drama", *Television: The Critical View*, third edition, ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: 1982) p. 57.

87 Aurthur, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

88 Barnow, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

By the time the so-called "quiz show" scandals hit the emerging medium in late 1959, broadcast historian Eric Barnow explains that "network leaders had long chafed over the degree of control they had yielded, early in broadcasting history, to advertising agencies and sponsors."⁸⁹ Moreover, this extra-media control resulted in senseless, haphazard scheduling.

Two network television pioneers, William Paley at CBS and Sylvester "Pat" Weaver Jr. at NBC, argued for a "'magazine concept' -- a system under which [advertisers] would buy only inserts in programs produced by the networks or by independent producers for the network, under network control."⁹⁰ This paradigm, although not accepted until the 1959-1960 season, is the one still in place today. Still, if advertisers did not like what they saw, or thought it would make a negative impact on product sales, they could pull their schedules and advertise elsewhere. A network would always try to modify programming content before turning away business.

However, had this magazine concept of sponsorship been available for Serling's *Noon on Doomsday* script, it can be argued that, given the gestalt of the times, there still would have been major content changes. The organizational (owner/operator) level will always yield to, or at least try to accommodate the concerns of, the extra-media or sponsor level. If the universe of potential sponsors rejects a given script's concept, the network, pushed by the profit motive, will drop the project and move on to a less controversial script.

In 1960 CBS Chairman Frank Stanton said it this way:

Since we are advertiser-supported we must take into account the general objectives and desires as advertisers as a whole. An advertiser has very specific and practical objectives in mind. He is spending a very large sum of money -- often many millions of dollars -- to increase his sales, to strengthen his distribution and to win public favor. . . . [I]t seems perfectly obvious that advertisers cannot and should not be forced into programs incompatible with their objectives.⁹¹

89 With *The \$64,000 Question*, scandal had reached the sponsor level. Charles Revson, of Revlon Cosmetics, had repeatedly directed the producers of the quiz show which contestants he wanted to win or lose. After FCC and Congressional hearings during the *Twenty-One*/Charles Van Doren scandal, the networks decided to "reorganize" and take back programming control from the sponsors. A line might be drawn between the early "sponsors" of TV programs (who proceeded as if they owned the show by exerting pressure on writers, producers, etc.) and the later "advertisers" of television (who purchased small chunks of time within an existing show.) The terms are used interchangeably in this essay. Sponsors of 1950s television were undoubtedly "advertisers," and advertisers of today are sometimes called "sponsors." The distinction, if one wishes to find one, lies in that advertisers (or sponsors) of today simply do not exert the enormous amount of power over programming as they once did.

90 Barnow, *loc. cit.*

91 Barnow, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

It is clear that television's main business -- its mission -- is to create for the advertiser a compatible environment in which to sell products. Stanton further observed that advertisers and their agents should be allowed to participate in the creative process.

To that, Serling remarked:

It is my contention that if a sponsor chooses to utilize the dramatic form as a vehicle of communication, he has to take with it certain responsibilities which are innate in the form he chooses. Drama is not a bastardized thing that exists in a vacuum. This is an aspect of culture that has its roots in many, many past ages. With it come certain ageless standards, certain ancient aspects of quality. [The sponsors] can say all they want about moving goods, but if they want to move goods and do it by calling all the tunes, let them sponsor baseball games or bowling contests or something like that over which they have no control. If a sponsor chooses the play as a kind of piggy-back on which he wants to use his commercials, then he has to respect the form he's chosen.⁹²

But they do not. And they will not. Because commercial television is not about "morally correct" expression. It is about bulk numbers, audience; it's a message delivery system to millions and millions of consumers at the lowest cost per thousand. Advertisers advertise on television, as writer Myra Mannes said, "to move goods. That is all. [Advertisers] are not here to elevate taste, to inform, to enlighten, to stimulate. Our business is to move goods. Period."⁹³

To "elevate taste," "inform," "enlighten," "stimulate," these are products of art, drama, theatre; and although TV uses the symbolic forms of drama, the palette of the artist, and the techniques of theater, television is not art. It is only the illusion of art because its purpose is to use artful expression for the on-going commodification of culture.

In sum, Serling's teleplay, his controversial vision of the time, was entangled in what Inglis calls the "heavy, saturating omnipresence of the way things are." Such is the essence and power of hegemony. It's the domain of everyday consciousness. An invisible place of belief "controlled by the dominant class, but produced by absolutely everybody." A true and very real place of mind and imagination that gives reference, form, and structure to the most mundane facts of life. A comfortable place that provides each of us the sense that our thoughts and ideas are all independently and freely chosen. But they're not. Because we think along the lines chosen for us by our massive social institutions -- schools, the legal system, churches, political parties, the mass

⁹² Aurther, Serling, Tunick, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 19

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15

media, etc. These are the agencies of power; what the great French Marxist, Louis Althusser, termed ISAs, Ideological State Apparatuses'.⁹⁴ "Such institutions are the mechanisms that manage the consent of society and therefore shape ideology."⁹⁵

Any version of "the truth, we should remember, is necessarily attached to its power to win a hearing. Truth can't win by it's purity as we'd like to think; it must have muscle."⁹⁶ Serling's "truth" was simply ahead of common acceptance by the dominant classes of his time. He was caught, indeed as each of us in every generation are caught, in the "Hegemony Zone".

⁹⁴ Fred Inglis, *Media Theory: An Introduction* (Cambridge: 1990), pp. 81-84

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

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THE ACTUAL EVENT

August 28, 1955, between 2 a.m. and 4 a.m., Emmett Till, 14, a black youth, was lynched and murdered by two white half-brothers, Roy Bryant, 24, and J.W. Milam, 36, in Money, Mississippi. Murder weapon(s): Severe beating, gun shot to the head, body thrown into river with weight tied around neck. Reasons for killing: whistling at a white woman, racist attitudes and culture.

Till's body was found three days later in the Tallahatchie River at Pecan Point. There were no witnesses.

September 3-4, 1955, Bryant/Milam arrested for the lynching murder of Till. Local Sheriff Strider finds blood on Tallahatchie River bridge. Says the corpse was dumped there about two days before it was found. Later, Sheriff reverses himself on facts of the evidence.

Story breaks in southern newspapers then, via the Associated Press, around the nation. A great civil rights hue and cry was heard from the liberal Northern states, especially Chicago and New York. Some 70 "outside" reporters converge to cover trial. Trial makes continual front page news. TV coverage, too. Biggest media event since Lindbergh baby kidnapping.

September 19, 1955, Emmett Till murder trial begins in Sumner, Mississippi; there is no change of venue, no protest from the plaintiffs. A jury of 12 local white men were chosen -- women, like blacks, were not permitted to sit as jurors.

September 23, 1955, after one hour and seven minutes of deliberation, the jury finds Bryant/Milam not guilty.

("Serling had been struck by the eagerness of the white community in Mississippi to close ranks behind the two killers.")

SERLING'S FIRST DRAFT (ND)

Hot summer night, 1956, John Kattell, a white man in his early 20s, murders a black man, Henry Clemson Washington, 19, in the town square of Demerest, Georgia. Murder weapon: knife. Reasons for killing: crime of drunken passion, Kattell's personal psychological problems, racist attitudes and culture. Northern newspaper man, Lanier, narrates the story.

Body found immediately. There were witnesses.

Sheriff arrests Kattell at the scene. Takes him to jail.

Local press stringer reports story to Atlanta paper. Calls it a case of "self defense." Eventually full story is reported to AP. Reporters converge from all regions of country, especially from liberal Northern states, NY in particular.

Grand jury hands down indictment. Case goes to trial. Local lawyer, Bob Grinstead, defends Kattell. Grinstead's father Frank, a one time lawyer, now a drunken bum because he, Frank, was involved in a town lynching 30 years earlier. The injustice of it was too much for Frank; he dropped out. There's tension between father and son.

Kattell is acquitted by local town jury, no mention of jury make up. Verdict incenses Grinstead who confronts Kattell in town square. Kattell, in drunken rage, kills Grinstead and runs off. Sheriff pursues and shoots Kattell to death.

(This draft submitted to The Theatre Guild, purveyor of television scripts and other projects. Lawrence Langer, Director of the Guild told Serling he had the "bone structure" of a fine drama, but suggested changes. He said, to sell the concept to BBD&O/US Steel, Serling would have to revise the drama to make it less overtly racial. Serling's second draft reflects the changes ordered by the Theatre Guild.)

SERLING'S SECOND DRAFT (ND)

Set in 1956 in "Demerest", no mention of where the town is regionally. There are many Southern references made. Readers assume action is set in a Southern city. Drama opens as town hears verdict of John Kattell, early 20s, who is acquitted of killing Moses Chink, 77, an arthritic Jew. There was a scuffle in Chink's store and Kattell shoots him to death. Chink leaves behind a daughter and only child, Esther (Serling's mother's name).

There is an unseen narrator, no longer Northern newspaper man, Lanier. Instead Lanier plays a central character, a reporter with a club foot who has to find the courage to stand-up and confront the killer, Kattell. Lanier is accompanied by a Jewish photographer who makes painful references of being Jewish in a racist town.

Frank Grinstead is no longer the local drunk but a respected town elder who has moved away from Demerest, made a name for himself in the state, and has moved back to save his son, attorney Rod (no longer Bob) Grinstead, from "losing his soul." Rod is defending Kattell, whom Frank considers a bigot and racist.

Frank was indirectly involved with a town lynching of a black man 30 years earlier. This event caused him to move away. He doesn't want his son to endure the same pain of injustice.

There is a dream sequence in which Frank relives the lynching of Robert Clardge, a black man alleged to have raped a white woman. The scene is complete with hooded men beating and dumping Clardge's body into a sack, tying it to a car bumper, and driving around until Clardge is dead.

The jury of eight men and four women acquit Kattell in one hour and seventeen minutes, causing a confrontation in the town square between the elder Grinstead and Kattell. A drunken Kattell throws a beer glass at Grinstead's head, injuring him, and proving Kattell's hot temper. Lanier, the reporter, confronts Kattell as well, giving him a knife and asking Kattell to "slice him up." The scene proves Kattell's cowardice. The town, which protected "its own" now shuns him. Kattell must forever live with the shame and guilt of killing the old man. The play has become a polemic on justice and bigoted racism. (BBD&O insisted the script be free of "race relations" conflict. Serling made the changes.)

SERLING'S THIRD DRAFT (1/26/56)

The play is beginning to take on the look and tone of the final TV version. Set in 1956 in "Demerest", no mention of where the town is set. Audience would still assume the south. Example: bartender says to Lanier, "what gets you to come down here?" (Act 1, pg. 35). Again, drama opens in square with townsfolk waiting for the verdict. Chink is still the murder victim, still 77 and arthritic, but is no longer called a "Jew." He is now "a foreigner from the old country" and Chink's daughter, is no longer called Esther (a name found in the Old Testament) but, the more waspish, Felicia. Also, in this draft, Kattell owns a competing store. His motive for murder is not only his drunkenness and bigotry but because Chink is undercutting him and taking away Kattell's customers.

Lanier is still the northern newspaper man, but is not accompanied by his Jewish photographer this time. There are no references to race or religion.

Frank Grinstead's character remains the same except there are no longer references to a town lynching 30 years earlier. There is no longer a dream scene showing the lynching either.

The town jury of eight men and four women acquit Kattell in one hour and seventeen minutes causing a confrontation in the town square between the elder Grinstead and Kattell. A drunken Kattell throws a beer glass at Grinstead's head causing him injury and proving Kattell's hot temper. Lanier, the reporter, confronts Kattell as well, giving him a knife and asking Kattell to "slice him up." The scene proves Kattell's cowardice. The town, which protected "its own" now shuns him and Kattell must, for the rest of life, live with the shame and guilt of killing the old man.

A story is now emerging about about prejudice and bigotry and how it doesn't square with the high-minded principles of the law, and a town's desire to protect a prodigal son without interference from outside do-gooders, like the northern press.

(Serling mentioned the production of the script to a reporter who saw the biographical similarities between the teleplay and Till murder, and printed it. Southern White Citizens Council's were outraged, putting pressure on U.S. Steel and CBS. Historian S.J. Whitfield says 30 high-level executives negotiated script revisions.)

SERLING'S FOURTH DRAFT (2/10/56)

All essentially remains the same, except Serling cuts out all references to the South. "Demerest" has now become the county, the city goes nameless. Except it becomes clear, this has got to be a Northern city, somewhere in New England. Example: a speech the bartender gives to reporter Lanier in this draft says he (the bartender) was from Albany and things like this killing rarely happen "up here" (Act 1, pg. 34).

In this draft Kattell does not own a competing store. He is portrayed as in earlier drafts, as a drunken hot-head, so frustrated with his life and the suffocating small town in which he lives, he lashes out at any one different and less powerful than he.

No references to blacks, lynchings, Jews. There are still comments made that the press should stay out and let the town dole out its own brand of justice without interference by the northern "buttnisksys."

(Historian S.J. Whitfield says, "the setting was switched to New England, a region where no lynching had ever been reported in the twentieth century"; and the show opened with a shot of the spire of a white village church. Even a visible Coca-Cola bottle, that essential artifact of the south, was carefully removed. One executive was responsible for ensuring that all traces of southern accents and even those telltale contractions endemic to the speech patterns of the region had been expunged. It also became necessary to restore the missing g's [to] present participle.")

SERLING'S FIFTH DRAFT (4/4/56) REHEARSAL TV SCRIPT

All is the same as in draft four. There are a few speeches shortened. A love interest between Lanier and Felicia is toned down. The only salient dramatic points which remain in tact from the actual event to this final script is the idea of the town wanting to protect its prodigal son (Kattell) from the Northern press, and other "liberals" who were calling for a conviction. The town agrees that Kattell is a menace "but he's our menace", says one elderly townsman.

The play's dramatic focus is diffused among the killing itself, the relationship between Frank Grinstead and his son, Rod, the town's anger over interference by outsiders, and the reporter's need to confront his own lack of overt courage because of a physical deformity.

Notes/References

1. Steven J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta*, (Baltimore: 1988), p. 83.
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3. Robert Alan Aurthur, Rod Serling, Irvin Tunick, et al., *The Relation of the Writer to Television*, (Santa Barbara, CA: 1960), p. 11.
4. Serling television scripts, op. cit.
5. Eric Barnouw, *The Sponsor*, (New York: 1979), pp. 49-50.
6. Serling television scripts, box 79, Rod Serling papers, U.S. Manuscript Collection, 43 AN, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
7. Whitfield, op. cit.
8. Serling television scripts, op. cit.
9. Whitfield, op. cit.
10. Serling television scripts, op. cit.
11. Ibid.

A SIXTH SERLING DRAFT (ND) WAS ALSO FOUND

It is difficult to say with certainty where this draft fell in relationship to the others. The author's guess is between the third and fourth drafts and before the accepted teleplay. There are still some southern dialogue references and two scenes that were not used. In this draft Kattell apologizes to Felicia for killing her father. Also, the judge talks to Frank Grinstead in his chambers rather than outside the courthouse. Still, the dramatic story essentials never change.

* A lynching is not necessarily a hanging. To lynch someone is to put that person to death without a lawful trial. Whitfield apparently did not take into consideration the white racism exhibited in West Roxbury and South Boston during the antibussing violence and subsequent killings of the mid-1970s.

SCRIPT CHANGES MADE AND BY WHOM

(complete notes for opposite pages)

Actual Event

("Serling had been struck by the eagerness of the white community in Mississippi to close ranks behind the two killers, even though their neighbors seemed afterwards to feel at least some remorse."¹)

1st Draft

(This draft submitted to the Theatre Guild, purveyor of television scripts and other projects. Lawrence Langer, founder/director of the Guild told Serling he had the "bone structure" of a fine drama, but suggested changes. Langer said to sell the concept to BBD&O/US Steel, Serling would have to revise the drama to make it less overtly racial. Serling's second draft reflects the changes ordered by the Theatre Guild.)

2nd Draft

(This Serling script incarnation was submitted and accepted by BBD&O on behalf of US Steel with conditions. The "conservative" ad agency BBD&O insisted the script be free of all "race relations" conflict.⁵ Serling made the changes.)

3rd Draft

(Serling mentioned the production of the script to a newspaper who saw the biographical similarities between the teleplay and Till murder, and reported it. Southern White Citizen Council's were outraged over this and putting pressure on US Steel and CBS. Historian S.J. Whitfield claims thirty high-level executives of US Steel, BBD&O, Theatre Guild, and CBS negotiated script revisions.⁷)

4th and 5th Drafts

(S.J. Whitfield says, "the setting was switched to New England, a region where no lynching had ever been reported in the twentieth century"; and the show opened with a shot of the spire of a white village church. Even a visible Coca-Cola bottle, that essential artifact of the south, was carefully removed. One executive was responsible for ensuring that all traces of southern accents and even those telltale contractions endemic to the speech patterns of the region had been expunged. The word "lynch" had to be omitted. It also became necessary to restore the missing g's present participles."⁹)

**The Publications of the Carlisle Indian School:
Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?**

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The Publications of the Carlisle Indian School: Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?

Abstract

This study of publications such as the *Eadle Keatah Toh*, *The Arrow*, *The Morning Star*, and *The Red Man and Helper* at the Carlisle Indian School explores whether these publications fit with other historic forms of dissident and disenfranchised media or whether they could be more accurately described as the propaganda arm of the school. This paper investigates a paradox as reflected in the publications: The school tried to uplift and educate Indian children, yet this help was imbedded with an overt assimilationist agenda. The findings illustrate that the school publications may have allowed the voices of American Indian children to be heard, but only in an European-American context, in which they were forced to express disdain for their own families and cultures.

Publications of the Carlisle Indian School: Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?

The publications run by and for the young people sent to the Carlisle, Pa., Indian Industrial School during its existence from 1879 to 1918 illustrate the crucial role of a press at the residential schools of the time. This American Indian¹ community at the school was isolated both linguistically and socially from families and tribes. The American Indians also had to live within a world in which they were stigmatized by the mainstream press.² This study of publications such as the *Eagle Keetah Toh*, *The Arrow*, *The Morning Star*, and *The Red Man and Helper* at the Carlisle Indian School explores whether these publications fit with other forms of dissident and disenfranchised media or whether they could be more accurately described as the propaganda arm of the school. See Figure 1 for a full listing of publications and dates.

Lauren Kessler has explained how minority groups fit into the U.S. media's marketplace of ideas. Based on the democratic form of government, the goal is that all ideas have the ability to be presented in a public forum. This marketplace should reflect the diversity in U.S. society.³ The mainstream media may neglect alternative ideas or deny access to minority groups, however. Barron explained that the mainstream press routinely denies access to alternative views and minority groups in society.⁴ Based on Kessler's study of the dissident press, there seems to be five primary reasons why the alternative and ethnic presses developed in the United States: Because they were denied access to the mainstream press; because stereotypes were being perpetuated about them in the mainstream press; because they needed a mechanism to draw together their community; because they wanted to educate their constituents and the outside world; and because they wanted to advocate for change. Erving Goffman explained that people with a stigmatized status in society develop their own publications to pull themselves together as a community with similar goals and aspirations, to debate societal issues related to them that rarely make

the mainstream press, to define the friends and enemies to their community goals, both inside and outside the community, and to set expectations of behavior for the members of its community.⁵

This exclusion from or misrepresentation in the mainstream media takes several forms. The form that applies to American Indians is the "ridicule, insult, and stereotyping of the group and its ideas rather than discussion, explanation, and debate."⁶ Thus, diverse groups create their own marketplace of ideas outside the mainstream press. The U.S. marketplace of ideas, thereby, expands to encompass all forms of the press, not just the mainstream.

Like many disenfranchised groups, creating their own forum for their ideas had another potential significance for American Indians. It made their community stronger. As an oppressed people, the Native American community had to have a means by which to discuss issues related to them. They also had to have a forum to editorialize their opinions. This was especially important because of their 19th century stereotype as violent "savages." A number of tribal newspapers developed to provide this alternative forum for the Indian community. The publications of the Carlisle, Pa., Indian School are unique within the U.S. Indian community, however, because although they were printed by Indian students and contained their work, they were controlled by the government-run school and its non-Indian leaders. Thus, these publications' status as a "free press" is very shaky. This paper investigates that paradox as reflected in the publications: The school tried to uplift and educate Indian children, yet this help was imbedded with an overt assimilationist agenda.

The History of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

The desire to educate the American Indian children of the United States was not an isolated or unique occurrence. It fit squarely with the tenor of the times, which was pressuring numerous groups to assimilate into a homogeneous, English-language-based American culture. Bodner explained how public schools and education officials used classrooms to train the foreign born to be true "Americans." From

Finns to Greeks to Germans to Romanians, basically anyone not English speaking was inculcated with American values and beliefs in U.S. classrooms, with the goal being making them better workers in industrial settings of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁷ Higham said the American attitude toward immigrants took one of two forms: that they were rejected or that they would easily be able to "melt" or blend into the American mainstream.⁸

So where did American Indians fit within this framework? Many people saw them as a societal group to be rejected. But some social reformers believed education and assimilation was the key for American Indians, just as it was for immigrants. This education took several forms as it was developed by secular and missionary educators and overseen by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the late 19th century. Coleman explains that there was a conflict about where this education should take place: on the reservations or away from family and tribal influences. Numerous reservation day schools and boarding schools were created, but off-reservation boarding schools were seen as superior because they "quarantined" the children from what one BIA commissioner in 1863 called the "filth" and "barbarism" of their parents.⁹ But non-reservation boarding schools actually educated a lesser number of Indian children. By 1899, government schools had 20,712 Indian pupils, but about 25 non-reservation schools existed compared to about 75 reservation schools. Coleman said the creation of the Carlisle Indian School served as model and influence in creating non-reservation boarding schools.

Carlisle was the only non-reservation Indian school on the eastern seaboard of the United States and one of only two Indian schools east of Michigan. Many eastern Indian tribes had been killed or forced onto reservations in the west. But the fame of the Carlisle Indian School was due to two factors at the beginning and end of its existence. In modern times, it is best known as the school of famed Olympic athlete Jim Thorpe. But in the 19th century, it owed its notoriety to the enthusiastic Army captain who founded it, Captain Richard Henry Pratt.¹⁰ Coleman said it was Pratt's "assimilationist vision and energy" that triggered the development of other non-reservation boarding schools like Carlisle.¹¹ Pratt

began the school in 1879 at a former military facility at Carlisle with about 150 Indian boys and girls, who were also used as the labor needed to build additional buildings. Pratt presided over the school for 25 years.

Pratt embodied the reformer's zeal of the late 19th century. He had served in the Civil War and later in the U.S. Calvary in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). As a young calvary lieutenant, he got along well with the Buffalo Soldiers, African American enlisted men, and local Indians. He formed a belief in the equality of both African Americans and Native Americans and felt that if they were given equal opportunities, they could compete equally with whites. He believed he had proved his beliefs in 1876-79, when as the jailor of 72 American Indians in Florida, he transformed them into "peace-loving, enlightened American citizens."¹² Thus, the seed of the Indian School at Carlisle was planted.

Pratt's philosophy believed in the saturating Indians in "civilization," which could not be accomplished on the reservation where tribal influences remained. "I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked," Pratt told a Baptist convention in 1883.¹³ But his assimilationist philosophy was more than just immersion, it was based on the destruction of all "Indianness." Pratt once said he agreed with the racist adage that "the only good Indian is a dead one" as a metaphor for his work, in which he intended to purge all Indian beliefs and behaviors from his students. He said in 1892, "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."¹⁴ His beliefs, though cruel by today's standards, were actually radically enlightened in the 19th century context because they gave Indians humanity. He said that "it is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. . . . Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit."¹⁵ This philosophy, that education could completely train someone to function in a non-Indian, white society, meant the development of a wide range of "civilizing" activities at the Carlisle school.

But to get young people to the school, he had to combat negative attitudes on several fronts: government policy makers who saw Indians as uneducable savages and Indian parents who did not want to surrender their children to him. The Indian parents were especially skeptical because of the tradition of lies from the U.S. government they had experienced. Pratt was able to get 11 young men who had been his former Indian prisoners in Florida to help him with getting the Carlisle barracks ready and helping him influence young Indians to attend the school. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened on Nov. 1, 1879 with 146 students from seven tribes.¹⁶ His choice of first pupils was strategically linked to those in power in Indian tribes. Fritz reports that two-thirds of the students in 1880 were children of tribal chiefs or leaders from 15 different tribes. The idea was that having their most prized children in an eastern school would result in good conduct from the leaders back home.¹⁷ The school had an uphill battle in terms of public relations, though. General public opinion in the United States and its government still believed that Indians were an inferior race not worthy of or able in terms of education. Some other reformers believed Indians were best served by education on the reservations, and a small group of ethnologists believed the assimilationist philosophy was wrong in its destruction of the Indian culture in the minds of Indian youth. They also were skeptical about any amount of "civilized" education keeping Indians from returning "back to the blanket" when their education was over.

Media Representations of Native Americans in the 19th and early 20th Centuries

Captain Pratt had much "bad press" and negative public opinion to contend with when he began the Carlisle school. He was to combat this societal view in two primary forms of mass communication: through the publications he created at the school and through zealous use of before and after photographs, showing the transformation to a "civilized" look within the children. Lonna Malmshemer documented this photographic "propaganda" in her 1985 study.¹⁸

Much research has documented that the press coverage of Native Americans in the 1800s was steeped in misrepresentations and myths. In the beginning of the United States, Native Americans were seen as the first threat to the white social order. "Although the European settlers were intruders on the natives' soil, the colonial and early national press began to characterize their Indian hosts in the role of adversary with heavy use of the term 'savages.' Newspapers, therefore, made it easy to justify the displacement of Indians by focusing coverage on acts of Indian violence to reinforce the savagery theme."¹⁹

Wilson and Gutierrez explained that historically the coverage of minorities in the U.S. press follows five stages: "(1) exclusionary, (2) threatening issue, (3) confrontation, (4) stereotypical selection, (5) integrated coverage phases."²⁰ In threatening-issue phase, which easily applies to coverage of American Indians, members of the minority group are consistently presented as a danger to society. For example, a number of western newspaper distorted reports of American Indian activities to present them as violent, feeding fears that would result in government intervention.

As the United States began to move farther West, the Indians also were presented as a barrier to this expansion. As conflicts between the Indians and white settlers grew, the Indians' reputation as the "bad guys" grew. In addition, the U.S. reading public had become accustomed to war news during the Civil War. The conflicts with Indians in the late 1800s provided new fodder for eastern newspapers. Many of the newspapers, however, did not receive reports about the Indian wars from their own reporters. They reprinted stories from local newspapers and relied on volunteer correspondents. Unfortunately, many of the reports the newspapers received were highly embellished and biased. "Stories of Indian warfare provided the most dramatic examples of distortion. Eastern editors sought sensational stories for a public used to reports from the Civil War battlefield; western editors wanted enough alarming news to pressure the federal government to send more troops."²¹ Thus stories about Native Americans were sensationalized, inaccurate, and even racist.

Editors freely advocated for the massacre of Indians. "Generally, frontier editors regarded Indians as inferior beings or even less than human. Many called for extermination."²² For example, three papers in the Arizona territory in 1871 fanned the flames of hatred toward Indians. They openly lobbied against planned reservations for Native Americans and supported the settler attacks on Indians. "On one thing they could agree: dead Indians should be called 'good Indians.'"²³ These newspapers misrepresented stories about Indian attacks in an effort to convince the Eastern establishment that a pacifist policy toward Indians would not work.

Watson documented the fact that correspondents covering the Indian wars from 1866-1867 were likely to expand rumors into "eye-witness accounts" or just fabricated the news altogether, rather than writing fair and accurate reports.²⁴ The practice of sensationalism and jingoism continued in the newspaper coverage of the last Indian war in 1890-91, where correspondents wrote with rage about the death of military officer, but many times ignored the deaths of peaceful Indians and women and children.²⁵ Nelson attributes these faulty newspaper reports on Indian wars to both bad journalistic practices and the racial attitudes of editors, which were hostile to Native Americans and biased toward beliefs of "bloodthirsty savages." So these editors did not question the fabricated or sensationalized reports sent in by their correspondents.²⁶ However, some of these correspondents did occasionally experience Indian relations firsthand and their views of American Indians sometimes softened as they became "those who developed genuine sympathy for the problems of the red man."²⁷ One such correspondent was Teresa Dean, who in 1891 began to question the actions of the U.S. Army toward the Indians, and she began to see American Indians as people who might have equal status with European Americans. Rankin added that two other 19th century journalists covered American Indians with compassion and fairness, and Coward explained that one journalist's reporting on the Ponca Indian arrests in 1879 created sympathy for Indians and contributed to reform efforts.²⁸

Those Indians who did not fall prey to death during the Indian wars were placed on reservations. On the reservations, they responded to the misrepresentation and exclusion from the mainstream press by founding reservation newspapers. Like many other groups denied access to the *mainstream press*, they formed their own alternative press. In 1828, the Cherokee Phoenix was created. LaCourse explains that the weekly newspaper was born from a crisis. The Cherokee had been moved from their millions of acres in the south to the Oklahoma Indian Territory. The Phoenix gave the Cherokees a voice about their displacement.²⁹

Many other tribes began publications, and from 1828 to 1910, more than 100 Indian newspapers were published across the 50 U.S. states.³⁰ For example, the oldest newspaper in Oklahoma is Indian Journal, which began in 1876 as the official newspaper of the Creek Tribe.³¹ Murphy calls American Indian newspapers "neglected pioneers" that "served as watchdog, teacher, and advocate, promoting literacy, reporting on encroachments by white civilizations and commending the heritage and accomplishments of the Indians."³² LaCourse explains that the birth of Native American newspapers resulted from three crucial shifts in tribal culture: the shift from an oral culture to a print one, the use of the printing press to serve tribal interests, and the use of the printing press for promotion of the whole tribe's interests rather than those of one person. In contrast to non-Indian culture in the United States based on individualism, La Course says Native American groups tend to focus on the collective interests of the tribe and this was reflected in their mass media.³³

Even though the "Indian Wars" were over by the late 19th century, stereotypes of Native peoples persisted in the mainstream media. Murphy says the continued mainstream treatment of American Indians is one of both neglect and stereotype.³⁴ As the motion picture industry grew, for example, Hollywood began a long history of Native American stereotypes in its Western movies.³⁵ Even Edward R. Murrow decried the misrepresentation and neglect of American Indians in a 1958 speech to the Radio/Television News Directors Association national convention, calling on its ranks to defy the

Hollywood myths and document what is really happening to Indians in the United States.³⁶ In modern times, misrepresentation and neglect still occur in news media coverage of Native American issues.³⁷

Publications at the Carlisle Indian School

The printing trade instruction at the school, which resulted in the numerous publications, was just one of many activities available to the young people at the Industrial School. Pratt's philosophy was one of practicality, so he instituted a policy of half-day work and half-day school, and an evening study hour. The students learned academic subjects, as well as skills such as sewing for the women and carpentry for the men. Sports and music were popular on the campus. And Pratt created a program called "outing," which he felt was one of the strengths of non-reservation schools. In this program, students were placed with local families to work for money and to learn "all the customs and amenities of American home life."³⁸ But the most important acquisition for the Indian children was the English language, according to Pratt. He purposely mixed children from many different tribes together in the dormitories, so they would be forced to quickly learn to communicate in their new common language: English.

Pratt had the utmost faith in the abilities of American Indian children and in his methods for helping them obtain their highest potential. His problems came from the non-Indian population of the United States. Most white people believed the worst in an array of stereotypes and myths about Indians. Pratt had to show that his educational endeavors worked. The publications of the school were one mechanism for this "public relations." Publications of several types began at the school and continued until its closing in 1918. (His photographic documentation of before-after student images and Carlisle's strong sports teams were the other ways Pratt gained positive publicity for the school. Figure 2 contains a nameplate that uses his before-after photographs as a symbol for the school.)

The publications at Carlisle should be looked at as a forum for school and Indian issues, not as reporting on them in the traditional sense. The publications functioned through exchanges with other newspapers, letters, and personal reports from the school leaders and students, rather than sending reporters to events. Their news gathering techniques were similar to some of the late 18th century country weeklies in the south and western United States. As Mott explained, "Most of their content was acquired by means of scissors and paste-pot."³⁹

From the school's creation in 1880s, it had a number of parallel publications on campus. In 1892, Pratt explained the different audiences for these parallel publications at the school, saying *Red Man* "was especially designed for informing the general public as well as the administrative, legislative, and agency authorities" and the *Indian Helper* was "printed weekly for the special edification of the pupils both past and present and for circulation among their parents and people in their remote homes."⁴⁰ Malmshemer says the publications were sent to all Congressional members, Indian agencies, Pennsylvania officials, distinguished U.S. newspapers, as well as general subscribers.⁴¹ Pratt was clearly relying on the 19th century mechanism for "news gathering" that Mott later explained; by sending his school publications to prominent newspapers, he could be assured they would clip articles from his propaganda style publications for reprinting, thus perpetuating his assimilationist message.

The illusion of an Indian student-run press began with *The School News* in 1880, which listed a Pawnee boy, Samuel Townsend, as its editor. A subsequent editor was Charles Kihega, an Iowa Indian, who took over when Townsend left to attend Marietta College in Ohio.⁴² Its issues focused on letters and experiences of the Indian children. Several of its first issues were devoted to a long description called "Experiences of H.C. Roman Nose," in which one of the first students of the school describes his trip from upstate New York to the Hampton Institute in Virginia⁴³ and finally to the Carlisle School by October 1879. Henry C. Roman Nose explains how Captain Pratt threw away their

"old Indian clothes" for "new white man's clothes." But most importantly for Pratt's purposes, Roman Nose wrote eloquently about the superiority of "the white man's way": "Now we are following the white man's way and endeavoring to get education and do something useful and teach the red men avoid temptation. . . . I am very happy now that I can be useful polite and love God. . . . I pray that he will Bless all our Benighted Race and show them their error and at last lead us with the white man's good way is the prayer of."⁴⁴ Littlefield and Parins explain that the reports of trips took on prominence in *The School News* to persuade students that "civilization" was a good place and to publicize school activities.⁴⁵ *The School News* definitely gave Indian youth a place to publish their early endeavors in writing English, but it seems few negative experiences were recorded in *The News*, which certainly was in the best interest of Captain Pratt.

The availability of the non-Indian school staff to manipulate the words of the Indian students was especially apparent in the early days of the school. For example, in January 1879, Maggie Stands-Looking, a Sioux girl who had not yet learned to speak or write English, dictated a letter to her father through an interpreter, which was printed in *The News*. The letter to her father, American Horse, recounts what is going on in the lives of her brothers, cousins, and herself at Carlisle. She writes of her hopes to learn the white man's ways so she can return to her father and of the good treatment she receives at the school: "You've got a white man's house to live in now and I am anxious to learn all I can, so that I can come home by and by and live with you. . . . There are a great many of us here now, and Capt. Pratt is very kind to us."⁴⁶ In addition to glowing letters, *The School News* re-printed school essays such as "What I would do with \$615"; first-time speeches by the students, "Speech by Harry Raven, Arapahoe, Entirely His Own"; and student descriptions of things they attended, "What A Boy Heard At A Country Church."⁴⁷

So *The School News* functioned on several levels, giving the students writing practice, informing their classmates as to their activities, and proving Captain Pratt's point that his school was

vital and Indian children were educable. This positive publicity even made it to Great Britain in 1881, according to another Carlisle School publication, *Eadle Keatah Toh* (Big Morning Star). *Eadle Keatah Toh* contained some examples of student writing but more often had reprints from other publications about Indians and reports, correspondence, and other materials from Captain Pratt and other leaders of the school. In July 1881, *Eadle Keatah Toh* reprinted an article from the *London Spectator* in England, which mentioned the Carlisle School and lauded its work on behalf of American Indians. The newspaper was impressed by the educational pursuits and especially that *The School News* contained the work of Indian children and was edited by a Pawnee boy. "It is abundantly clear that these young savages from the prairies are apt to acquire the versatile industry and self-possession of their white fellow-citizens," *The Spectator* opined.⁴⁸ The story was accompanied by an etching of Indian boys busily working at the harness shop at the school. So early on, the publications of the Carlisle School had clearly served a strong public relations function to the non-Indian world. Each year it published Captain Pratt's annual report. As Littlefield and Parins explain about *Eadle Keatah Toh*, "It was a means of proselytizing the concept of education on which the Carlisle school was based."⁴⁹ It is also unclear how accurate the reprint of the *London Spectator* was; names and specifics known to Carlisle school leaders could have possibly been inserted into *Eadle Keatah Toh*'s reprint.

Eadle Keatah Toh changed its name a number of times to *The Morning Star* and then to *The Red Man*, and it was subsequently combined with other publications. See Figure 1. Even though *Eadle Keatah Toh* was renamed in English *The Morning Star* by 1885, the publication retained its work-oriented motto on the nameplate: "God helps those who help themselves." It also added more content in 1884, when it expanded to eight pages, and said it would include more information on general Indian issues and reports on Congressional activities related to Indian affairs. It printed articles criticizing the reservations and their school systems and the continued use of Indian languages.⁵⁰ The promotion of the English language became a prominent theme in many of the school publications.

For example, *Eadle Keatah Toh* published a whole page in 1881 devoted to letters written from the students to parents and friends, as well as letters Captain Pratt received from students and parents. One from a parent, who happened to be an Indian Sergeant of Scouts, contained the "right spirit," so Pratt wrote it should be shared with the readers. The father had one son at Carlisle and wanted to bring his other son because he said, "Not many days will roll around before the future will bring to the Indian race the times when English must be had or the Indian will be no more. This is why English should be taught and the boys away to school should be encouraged."⁵¹ Pratt even glorifies the poor English in these letter excerpts that appeared on the front page of *Eadle Keatah Toh* by explaining that 18 months ago most of the Indian children were "entirely ignorant of English." The children also pressured their parents to learn English. Joe Big Wolf wrote his father: "I want you Saucy Chief to try very hard to speak only English, see if you can beat me to talk English."⁵²

Another typical component of the children's letters that served Pratt's purposes was their constant admonishment to their parents to learn the white man's ways. "You try the white man's road as soon as you can," writes Peatone to his father, Wolf Quiver. "You must do what I ask you in letter. You must do what the white people do," Davis writes to his father Bull Bear, Cheyenne chief.⁵³ Pratt seemed to proudly display all writings that agreed with his philosophy, but what becomes uncertain is what became of any negative feedback from students, parents, or society. In society in general, racist beliefs about American Indians predominated still. Most outside news reports still contained rumors expanded into "eye-witness accounts" or just fabricated altogether.⁵⁴ Nelson has explained that these faulty newspaper reports came from both bad journalistic practices and the racist attitudes of editors, who believed Native Americans to be "bloodthirsty savages."⁵⁵ So Pratt had strong societal beliefs to combat.

The success of the assimilationist Indian schools was one positive story about American Indians that was actually appearing in some 19th century newspapers. McKellips reports from her study of the *Cheyenne Transporter*, which began on at an Arapaho school in Oklahoma and moved from the school

to become the community newspaper, that the publication reprinted much information from the Carlisle school, as well as what was going on at the Arapaho school. "The newspaper items are invariably positive and supportive of the efforts being made at both schools to assimilate American Indians through education of students away from the influences of their culture."⁵⁶ Littlefield and Parins write that Pratt used the Carlisle school publications for advocacy of anti-reservation and anti-Catholic beliefs, both of which ran competing Indian school systems with opposite philosophies from Pratt. The publications ran much supportive rhetoric that concurred with Pratt's assimilationist beliefs such as article by leaders like Thomas J. Morgan, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, who embraced a view of severing of all reservation ties and completely assimilating American Indians into white society.⁵⁷

Any negative views from the Indian children and their parents were easiest to quell because the content of the publications could be controlled, and Pratt held stature as a "good white man" in the eyes of many Indians associated with the schools because the Indians knew what most of society thought of them. One prominent Indian rights supporter, Elaine Goodale Eastman, even called Pratt the "Red Man's Moses." She claims Pratt's true goal was to "cement rather than weaken the family tie."⁵⁸ Eastman claims that Pratt rarely censored the students' writings and encouraged them to express themselves publicly and freely. The children's resistance to being torn from their families and cultures did appear occasionally, usually as a sentence in a reprinted letter about homesickness and sadness on the part of a student or a description of a student trying to run away.⁵⁹ The qualifying words used in some of the children's letters also illustrate an unsureness about their commitment to the white man's world: "White men is very good and Dakota way is not good I guess" or "This is a very good school I suppose." And there is the natural sadness of children missing their families. "When I went to bed I always thinking about my home," writes Minnie to her Arapahoe chief father in 1881.⁶⁰ But resistance

to the assimilationist philosophy was definitely not the overriding theme of the Carlisle publications: only a very close reading reveals it as a slight subtext.

Other latent resistance to the assimilation effort was recorded later in autobiographies of many of the former Indian School students and analyzed by Michael Coleman who found that many of the Indians who were critical of the schools tempered those feelings with positive reports on the extracurricular activities they enjoyed such as sports, music, theater, and newspaper work. One former Carlisle student said that although he disliked white culture, he was proud of his accomplishments on the football team because it could beat all the teams at prominent white universities.⁶¹ And the school publications added the "boosterism" necessary to bolster pride in sports teams and other accomplishments at the school. A report in *The Carlisle Arrow* in 1910 showed the Carlisle football team badly beating every college football team it played in the first half of the season and its opponents were Pennsylvania universities such as Villanova and Bucknell. Later in the season, the team was to play Princeton, Penn, Johns Hopkins, Navy, among others.⁶² The team physician, a Carlisle graduate, said in a Carlisle school publication in 1900 that the school's football competitions were endowed with the same noble goal as the school: "to prove themselves worthy of becoming true and noble citizens -- though it must be done by the use of the pigskin."⁶³ Figure 3 illustrates the pride that resulted from the sports field. A cartoon from a losing team member depicts the Indian "revenge" against whites on the football field, and the *Indian Helper* wrote below it: "A hundred years have passed and the Indian comes out on top."⁶⁴ So the assimilationist philosophy continued to be center stage in all Carlisle school publications, though later dates in the school's history, it might well be interpreted as rousing school spirit.⁶⁵ Littlefield and Parins say that Pratt created an established role for periodicals at non-reservation schools that others could follow. "The content of *The Red Man and Helper* and its predecessors clearly reflects the basic theories that underpinned one of the most significant developments in Indian education in the nineteenth century. It was in large measure a propaganda tool

for Richard H. Pratt's ideas, and his editorial control of this first Indian Service school periodical anticipated the role that his counterparts at other schools would play in relation to school publications."⁶⁶

Pratt was clearly in editorial control of all the publications during his tenure at the school. For example, *The Indian Helper* gave the students an outlet for their writings, but it did not have the pretense of being edited by Indian children, as *The School News* did, because it explicitly states in its masthead in 1891 that it is edited by "The-man-on-the-band-stand, who is NOT (cq) an Indian." This is understood to be Captain Pratt. In 1891, *The Indian Helper* had a splashy nameplate, complete with drawings showing the transformation of a long-haired traditional Indian to a suit-wearing, short-haired "civilized" Indian. See Figure 2.

Despite the propaganda function of the publications, they did seem to give Indian youth training in printing, graphics, and writing. By the late 1890s, Indian students had seemingly developed as writers and the contributions took on a literary flair. An article in September 1891 described in detailed dialogue a conversation at the teacher's table about the resolve of an Indian girl to continue her "civilized" ways after she returned to the reservation. It is unclear who wrote the compelling article, but it was probably not an actual student, but a teacher who wanted to reinforce through the parable the strength needed by the Indian children to retain civilized ways when back in the family fold.⁶⁷

The publications also contained detailed reports on American Indians from the outside world, which kept students informed of political issues related to them. The December 1885 issue of *The Morning Star* reprinted President Cleveland's full report to Congress on his Indian policy, which preached the assimilationist message that Indians should keep pace with the progressive white civilization in which they exist.⁶⁸ *The Red Man* gave much space to stories about American Indians from other publications, as well as continuing to reprint letters and information about the Carlisle school. For example, the 1900 issue reprinted from the *Springfield Republican* about Frederick

Douglass' Indian lineage and a story from *The San Francisco Call* about Carlos Montezuma, M.D., an Indian doctor in Chicago who became the school's athletic teams' doctor and was held up as an example for emulation. As Captain Pratt and the school became well-known, many times the Carlisle publications would reprint articles about the school that had appeared in the non-Indian press. An example comes from the *Denver Republican* in 1891. This coverage by the non-Indian world was seen as important as evidenced by the sub-headline *The Red Man* gave the article, "Valuable Endorsement from a Leading Paper in a State in Close Grapple with the Indian Question."⁶⁹

The Indian students' writings continued to espouse the assimilationist rhetoric in the publications, as well as associating the traditional Indian ways with laziness. "I think the people are doing a grander work for the poor ignorant Indians this time than they were doing six or seven years ago. There should be no Indians within the United States wrapped in blankets, when other people are busy working," wrote one Carlisle student in 1885, with this disparaging reference to the days before there were Indian residential schools.⁷⁰ This focus on individual achievement in the students' admonishments contrasts with writings contained in Indian reservation newspapers, which La Course said focused on the collective interests of the tribe.⁷¹ Some of the collective interests that the American Indian newspapers fought to preserve were "the retention of hereditary ancestral tribal territories and intact native environments, the preservation of cultural, social, and religious systems, and the secure distancing of native communities from multiple intrusions of white culture."⁷² The Carlisle school publications were in complete opposition to these beliefs.

The Arrow, which was established in August 1904 and printed every Thursday, represents a slight move away from the pure propaganda function of early school publications. It began as now-General Pratt was forced out as superintendent of the school in 1904. It was edited by Captain W. A. Mercer, who became superintendent of the school. He established clear areas of focus for the publication: local school news, promotion of Indian education, success stories of hard-working Indians,

and inspirational stories to help students live right by avoiding alcohol and tobacco.⁷³ Its first issue appeared filled with advertisements from the local Carlisle business community, which lasted until 1908. *The Arrow* nameplate made use of Indian symbolism, moving from drawings of arrows in 1904 to petroglyphic-style graphics in 1912. See Figure 2. *The Arrow*'s lofty goal was explained as the following:

Our Arrow will not be sped by the untutored savage as an instrument of warfare and protection, but through intelligent industry and purposeful study the educated Indian will hope to pull the bow-string with such triumph and force as will send an Arrow of light into every dark corner of this great Republic, until it can no longer be claimed that education is useless for our Red Brethren.⁷⁴

Implied within that mission statement seems to be the understanding that the newspaper should promote the idea of continued education for American Indians, as well as dispel myths about Indians. Its masthead also deemed it "a paper devoted to the interests of the progressive Indian," which fits with the philosophy of the Dawes Act of 1887. This Act was hostile to tribalism and promoted self sufficiency among Indians. Dippie says progressive Indians completely embraced white attitudes and beliefs from standards of cleanliness to criteria about beauty.⁷⁵

The Arrow, which was later called *The Carlisle Arrow*, actually became more like a traditional school newspaper as it evolved during the early 20th century. By 1910, the Carlisle school was 30 years old and had many established activities that could be the subject of articles in *The Carlisle Arrow*. For example, a report in the April 2, 1909 issue told of the school's performance of "The Captain of Plymouth," a comic opera in which 84 Indian students participated, and a handicap track and field meet, which was the first of its kind at the school.⁷⁶ An issue in 1915 announced the activities of the Carlisle Alumni Association and had an obituary of a former student, who died of tuberculosis.⁷⁷ But it continued the publications' tradition of reprinting some articles on Indian concerns from other publications such as an article from the *Green Bay (Wis.) Gazette* about a law to forbid saloon keepers from selling liquor to the Oneida Indians.⁷⁸ But the importance of the alcohol issue was illustrated in

this same issue because *The Carlisle Arrow* gave a full page to the reprint of a cartoon about Umatilla Indians helping vote Oregon dry. See Figure 4.

In the last decade of the school, the printing department began a focus in art-craft printing. It had a new printing office and new equipment in 1908 and took on some jobs from the federal government. But the school also created a showpiece magazine, *The Indian Craftsman*, which was based on Gustav Stickley's illustrated magazine *The Craftsman*. Littlefield and Parins explain that the magazine gave an outlet to an excellent art department with talented Native American artists. It also contained several feature articles on historical or recent Indian issues, as well as a section for campus news. As *The Indian Craftsman* gained national prominence, *The Craftsman* asked the school to change its name, which it did to *The Red Man*. As a new editor took over in 1915, the focus of the magazine changed; the school emphasis left, as did the artwork, and the publication focused on exchange material about Indians from other publications around the country.⁷⁹ In the last year of the school's existence, *The Red Man* and *The Carlisle Arrow* combined. See Figure 5 for the cover of the final issue, June 7, 1918. Even that final cover drawing illustrates the dilemma of assimilation imbedded within the school. An industrious Indian farmer plows as he dreams of the old tribal ways. However, after 35 years, the publications of the school had evolved from almost a pure propaganda function for Captain Pratt to a true school newspaper concerned with giving students a way to stay informed about students, alumni, and activities of the Carlisle school, but they were still imbued with the notion of the superiority of civilized ways.

Conclusion

Like other non-mainstream press, the school publications at the Indian school from 1879-1918 had a strong education function among their readers. They may have been Captain Pratt's way of promoting his cause for the education of Indians, but they also allowed the children to read "success"

stories about themselves and their people. As the school developed, the Carlisle press also gave Indian children outlets for their writing and information about their school activities. Historically, this can be seen in the pages of other 19th century residential schools such as those for deaf children.⁸⁰ The mission of many of the Little Papers at deaf schools was explicitly to entertain and educate, whereas the Indian School newspapers also seemed to have an added propaganda function.

Pratt wanted to make changes in society both in terms of showing the Carlisle school in a positive light, and in showing that American Indians could be good and educated American citizens. The Indian School publications wished for an agenda-setting function. As Littlefield states explicitly about the press of the Indian Schools: "The press was used simply to propagandize the public concerning denominational activities or federal educational policies affecting the Indian."⁸¹ *The Indian Helper* at Carlisle in its first issue of the seventh volume (1891) exhibits its pride at promoting the Indian cause. "Since the inception of the *Helper* many changes have taken place. Public sentiment has grown more and more in favor of Indian education, which perhaps the *Helper* has had some small share in forwarding."⁸² Dippie calls Pratt "an expert propagandist" with his numerous photographs, public performances of the most excellent students, and impassioned speeches.⁸³ And his publications contributed to this cause, too. They were a public performance of students who represented his educational philosophy. Prucha says much of the publicity for the Carlisle school was spread as a result of its publications.⁸⁴ A prominent Indian Rights spokesman said Pratt and his promotion of his school completely changed public opinion on Indian education issues. American society saw that Indians could be educated; the only conflict that remained was which method was best.⁸⁵

These school publications' constant publicity efforts can be seen as similar to Nord's findings about the abolitionist press, which believed if it could continually keep the anti-slavery rhetoric alive, people would gradually begin to change their minds. Nord said the abolitionist press is a good example of how the alternative press and the mainstream press split.⁸⁶ The mission of the abolitionist press was

advocacy, agitation, and open discussion. Similarly, the Indian school publications definitely had an agenda of advocacy. They were advocating a new perspective on American Indians, one that saw them as educable, valuable citizens, rather than violent savages. And the publications were used to openly promote the residential school as the method to accomplish this goal.

The school publications were not a free press about Indian issues, however. The institution took control of those beliefs without having to take account of mainstream journalistic notions of objectivity or fairness. As discussed, the mainstream media's representation of American Indians was racist and misrepresentative, so Carlisle's leaders were able to combat this head-on with its own reports on the virtues of American Indians.

This was an important result of the Carlisle publications: Their dissemination of positive information about Native Americans to the non-Indian world. Kessler explained that one of the roles of the dissident press is that of an external communicator, trying to educate the general public about issues that the mainstream press neglects.⁸⁷ The Carlisle publications may have done this more successfully than other types of dissident press because they had a ready audience of non-Indian people -- U.S. government policy makers who oversaw the school. Carlisle's leaders understood how critical it was that government officials believe that Native Americans were educable. After all, it was non-Indians who maintained control over the Indian schools. In the lauding the accomplishments of its Indian pupils and alumni, the publications reinforced the need for the school's existence.

In terms of a legacy, the publications may have inspired some Native American journalism back at the reservations, but this was the exception rather than the rule because of the equipment needed for such an endeavor. James Mumblehead, a Cherokee who worked on *The Arrow*, made a career working for several newspapers and Indian school publications, and Samuel Townsend, editor of *The School News* in the 1880s, went on to be a printer for *The Chippeway Herald* at the White Earth

Boarding School and night foreman at the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*. Littlefield and Parins say the Carlisle publications did provide good instruction for Indians who wanted to become printers.⁸⁸

But generally the Carlisle school has been judged a failure based on the few Indian alumni who could find a life in the white world. Most of students returned to the reservations where they were rejected by both Indians and whites.⁸⁹ Alumni Luther Standing Bear reported the disappointment he and others felt at having no outlet for the trades learned at Carlisle. He wrote to Indian Affairs to ask for help establishing a shop of his own and he received none.⁹⁰

Another residual influence of the Carlisle school was probably the teachers who returned to the reservation. Acclaimed Native American author Leslie Marmon Silko was the great-granddaughter and great niece of Carlisle alumni. Her Aunt Susie went from the Carlisle school to Dickinson College, before returning to the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico to teach in the 1920s.⁹¹ Silko wrote her aunt, saying "She had come to believe very much in books and in schooling."⁹² Aunt Susie was bridging generations, cultures, and traditions in her old age as she tried to capture the oral traditions of the Laguna people with the written language she had learned at Carlisle.

Therein lies the huge flaw of schools such as Carlisle and why even the strongest public relations efforts of their publications were partially in vain. The schools completely discounted the culture and traditions of all Indian people. They may have rejected the racist rhetoric of the mainstream European-American culture, yet they saw no value in Indian traditions either. They naively believed that European-American society would accept all people who learned the "rules" of U.S. citizenship, and that Indian cultures were so inferior, that newly "civilized" members could return and easily topple traditional Indian ways. McKellips explains that when appreciation of Indian culture is denied in Indian education, no amount of "philanthropic attitude" or humane methods can overcome that defect. "The voices and values of the people themselves must be heard."⁹³ Dippie fears that Pratt's anti-Indian-culture rhetoric might have created self-loathing among students who assimilated.⁹⁴ The

publications at the Carlisle school allowed the voices of American Indian children to be heard, but only in an European-American context, in which they were forced to express disdain for their own families and cultures. These were not the true voices of Indian youth, just assimilationist mutations of young people forced to learn to be "white."

Endnotes

1. Because the time period explored in this paper uses the term American Indian, it will be used instead of Native American the majority of the time.
2. The mainstream press is defined here as the community, town, county, regional, city, or national newspapers that aim toward the general population based on geographic region rather than political belief or ethnicity.
3. Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press, (Newbury Park: Sage, 1984) p. 8.
4. Jerome Barron, Freedom of the Press for Whom? (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

<u>Name of Publication</u>	<u>Dates of Existence</u>	<u>Format</u>
<i>School News</i>	1880-1883	4 pages, 5x8 inches
<i>Eadle Keahtah Toh</i>	1880-1882	4 pages, 8x12
<i>The Morning Star</i>	1882-1887	8 pages, 8x11
<i>The Red Man</i>	1888-1900	8 pages, 8x12
<i>The Indian Helper</i>	1885-1900	4 pages, 6 1/2x8
<i>The Red Man and Helper</i>	1900-1904	4 pages, 8x12
<i>The Arrow</i>	1904-1908	4 pages, 8x12 Contained advertising
<i>The Carlisle Arrow</i>	1908-1917	4-8 pages, 8x10
<i>The Indian Craftsman</i>	1909-1910	Magazine format, Up to 24 pages
<i>The Red Man</i>	1910-1917	Magazine format
<i>The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man</i>	1917-1918	Magazine format

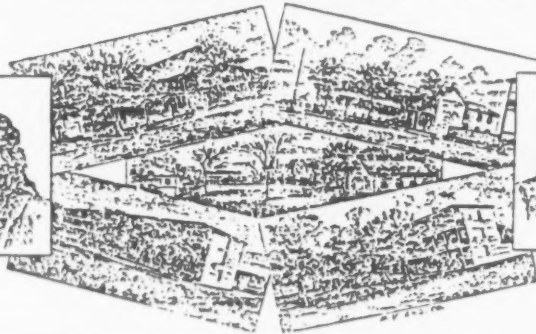
VOL. VII.

NO. 1.

THE INDIAN HELPER

A WEEKLY LETTER

INDIAN
INDUSTRIAL
SCHOOL,
CARLISLE, PA.



FRIDAY,
SEPT. 11,
1891.

THE ARROW

INDUSTRY SCIENCE

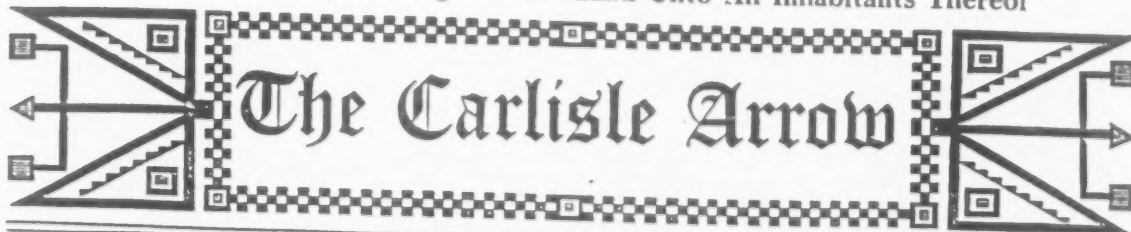
Publication of the United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.

Vol. I

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1904.

No. 1

"Proclaim Liberty Throughout the Land Unto All Inhabitants Thereof"



A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER EDITED AND PRINTED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES INDIAN SCHOOL
VOLUME VIII.

CARLISLE, PA., JULY 4, 1912.

NUMBER 41

Figure 2. Ornate nameplates from several years of school publications.



GENTLEMANLY PLAYING WINS

The above original drawing was sent to David McFarland the next day after the football victory of our boys in Pittsburg. The cartoon bears study. In the days of Ft. Pitt it was the white man who had the upper hand. A hundred years have passed and the Indian comes out on top. If he can do it at foot-ball, he can do it in the arts and sciences. All he needs is a fair chance, and Carlisle is fast opening the way. He will always be at the mercy of the whites, (as is shown in the view in the left circle) as long as he is penned in on reservations or in any way encouraged to cling together in ignorant masses. The

whites know that. Carry education, incentive, ambition to the community and thus expect to lift them up? That has been tried long enough. It never was a success and never can be. Carlisle has shown repeatedly and for a thousand times has proclaimed the truth that all the Indians want is a chance to lift THEMSELVES up, and then like the boy in the right circle the multitudes will carry them along. "Revenge," is written below the illustration, but it is a cheerful if determined revenge. Mr. Charles Payne, the artist and member of the Duquesne Club, says in his letter of transmittal, "From one of the many friends you boys have made here by your gentlemanly playing."

Figure 3. A cartoon from the October, 25, 1895 *Indian Helper*, which illustrates the notion that football prowess was considered a civilizing influence and important educationally.

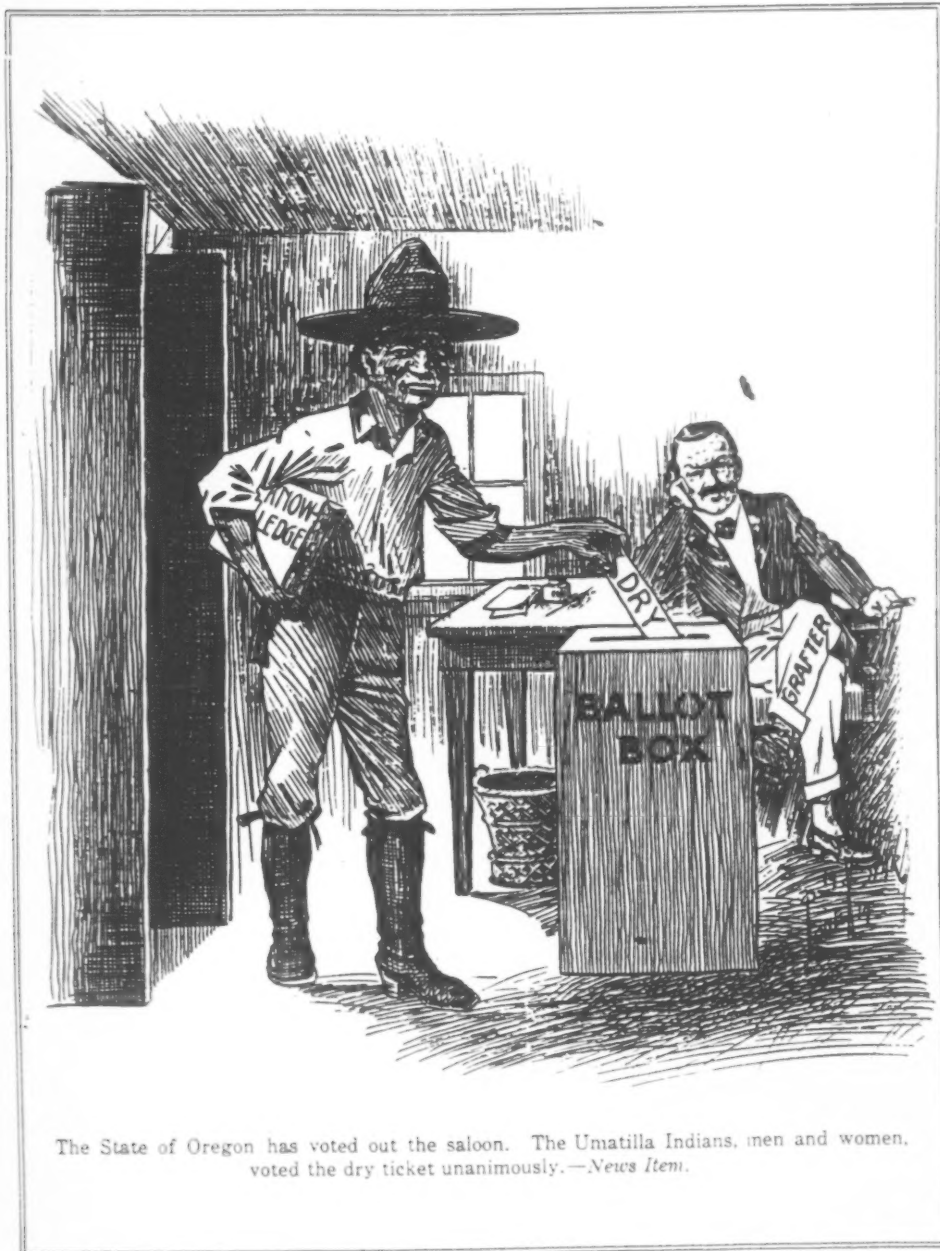


Figure 4. Cartoon on page 5 in the March 15, 1915 edition of *The Carlisle Arrow*.

Clippings: mail
The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man

PUBLISHED BY THE U. S. INDIAN SCHOOL AT CARLISLE, PA.

Outing Number



"MEMORIES"



Plow deep while sluggards sleep
And you'll have corn to sell and keep.

FRANKLIN



Figure 5. The cover of the final issue of a Carlisle School publication, June 7, 1918.

"Upholding the Womanhood of Woman" by Opposing the Vote:
The Countermovement Rhetoric of the *Remonstrance*, 1890-1920

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Submitted to
The Annual Convention of the AEJMC, History Division
Chicago, 1997

"Upholding the Womanhood of Woman" by Opposing the Vote:
The Countermovement Rhetoric of the *Remonstrance*, 1890-1920

This paper examines the anti-suffrage rhetoric and structure of *The Remonstrance*, the publication of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. By examining the content of the publication as well as the records of the MAOFESW from 1890 to 1920, the author demonstrates that because it was a countermovement publication, *The Remonstrance* was principally reactive, that is, driven to respond to suffrage claims and strategies. Basic themes illustrated the ideology of the anti-suffrage movement: woman's place was in the home, woman suffrage was a burden, and women did not want the vote. Further, the ideology of the anti-suffragists was reflected in the organizational structure of both the MAOFESW and the publication. Although both the association and its publication changed with the passage of time, they failed to keep step with the broad social and cultural changes that affected women's lives in the early twentieth century. Although they might have reflected the mainstream rhetoric of nineteenth century prescriptions for women's behavior in 1890, they no longer did in 1920.

"Upholding the Womanhood of Woman" by Opposing the Vote:
The Countermovement Rhetoric of the *Remonstrance*, 1890-1920

Social Movements and Countermovements

Social movements, especially those that would affect profound change in political, social, and economic structures, often provoke organized efforts to prevent or reverse such change. These countermovements usually arise out of existing groups whose status, position, and security are threatened by the goals or achievements of the social movements they oppose. Ironically, the more successful a social movement is in mobilizing support and in nearing or achieving its goals, the more likely the organization of a countermovement becomes.¹

Because countermovements are often made up of high status groups with access to political, economic, and structural resources often unavailable to social movements, they typically are able to mobilize quickly and efficiently. But because of the nature of their identity as *countermovements*, they are primarily *reactive* in nature. That is, their rhetoric, strategies, and actions, rather than being *proactive*, are confined to *responding* to those of the movement they oppose.²

Social movements and countermovements, in fact, can be viewed as functional dyads, locked in a metaphorical two-step where the leading member of the couple (the social movement) initiates each step and is followed by its partner (the countermovement). The social movement thus is privileged in several ways: it has a variety of steps to choose from, it may initiate a change in the sequence of steps at any time, and it may begin or end the dance at any time. The countermovement, instead, can only continue to follow the lead set by the social movement.

Countermovements are further restricted in that while social movements are

typically made up of groups committed to what might be a wide variety of goals, countermovements are often made up of disparate groups whose only common goal is to stop the social movement from achieving its goal (or undoing the social movement's success). Successful countermovement leaders, therefore, typically identify a single idea to unite these disparate groups ideologically.³

While this may succeed in mobilizing and maintaining a countermovement, however, it provides a very narrow range in which a rhetorical discourse can be developed. Countermovement rhetoric, therefore, labors under two significant restraints: it is preoccupied with *opposing* rather than *proposing* a particular program, and it depends on evoking established societal myths to oppose change.⁴

The Woman Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Movements

This dyadic relationship can be found between the woman suffrage and anti-suffrage movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As woman historians have noted, anti-suffrage activity began following the first national woman suffrage conventions of the 1870s and increased in frequency and intensity always in relation to the occurrence of woman suffrage campaigns across the country.⁵ Two national woman suffrage organizations were formed by 1870 and suffragists in a number of states used them as resources in forming their own organizations that, once founded, usually remained active until state suffrage was achieved. Anti-suffrage organizations, instead, formed and dissolved according to the local suffrage agenda, organizing when a local suffrage campaign geared up, and dying back when the campaign was over. It was not until the 1890s that two women's anti-suffrage organizations were formed that remained stable until the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. These were the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Woman (MAOFESW), formally organized in 1890, and the New York State Association Opposed

to Woman Suffrage (NYSACWS), established in 1895. A third prominent women's antisuffrage organization, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) was organized in New York City in 1911 and became an umbrella organization for the many anti-suffrage campaigns that mobilized during the second decade of the century.⁶

At the same time as women's anti-suffrage organizations were forming, *male* *antis* (the term "antis" was commonly used at the time to refer to anti-suffragists) also organized, establishing state and national associations such as the Man Suffrage Association and the Men's Association Against Extension of Woman Suffrage in Massachusetts, New York, and Washington, D.C..⁷ While these male anti-suffrage organizations were usually dominated by community politicians, prominent businessmen, religious leaders, and educators, the leaders of the women's organizations were often the wives, mothers, or daughters of these very men. This pairing of male and female anti-suffrage organizations allowed the women's organizations to focus on educational strategies while leaving the more aggressive political and economical strategies to the male organizations.⁸

By 1916, these anti-suffrage organizations were at their peak, providing anti-suffragists across the country with speakers, organizers, funds, and literature in the form of posters, cartoons, pamphlets, books, and newspapers.⁹ Just as woman suffrage organizations established journals to unite and inform members, bolster morale, organize campaigns, and recruit new members, so did anti-suffrage organizations establish journals to accomplish many of the same goals.¹⁰

Woman suffrage publications exploited a variety of ideological themes: the logical expansion of woman's sphere into public life for the public good; the purification of politics as an extension of woman's "housekeeping" role; the

moral and constitutional right to equal suffrage in a democratic nation; the positive effects to be gained from women's involvement in political and economic life, and the need to reform society through women's civilizing influence.¹¹ Anti-suffrage publications, on the other hand, were limited to a few basic ideological themes, all couched in negative terms: the preservation of separate spheres (woman's sphere was in the home while it was the man's place to go out into the world of commerce and politics) and the reification of women's role in the home; suffrage as an unwanted and unnecessary burden, and the unwomanliness and selfishness of suffragists.¹²

Further, as countermovement publications, they were faced with a rhetorical dilemma -- they were forced to carry on an implicit dialogue with their opponents, warning readers of the disastrous consequences that would occur if suffrage succeeded and constantly establishing and reminding them of the differences between *antis* and *suffragists*.¹³ Finally, as opponents rather than proponents of change, anti-suffrage publications constantly ran the risk of being trapped by negative rhetoric. As one scholar notes, anti-suffragists might oppose suffrage, but they could not oppose woman's rights. *Antis* "needed to recast the entire issue to characterize feminists as anti-female and *antis* as defenders... of 'true womanhood.'"¹⁴

The Ideology and Rhetoric of *The Remonstrance*

The Remonstrance, the journal published by the MAOFESW from 1890 to 1920, provides an excellent example of a countermovement publication in which the ideology of the movement was put into practice. Not only did the publication serve as an organ through which the rhetoric of the Massachusetts anti-suffrage movement was expressed, but its organizational structure and strategies were concrete examples of the ideology of the anti-suffrage movement.

Three characteristics of *The Remonstrance* can be immediately identified: it was principally reactive; it closely followed the ideology of separate spheres, and it was presented as an expression of the majority belief rather than the views of a few individuals in prominent positions.

The publication was reactive in that the topics it published were almost exclusively in response to developments in the suffrage movement. A good percentage of its stories, for example, were devoted to reports on the outcome of suffrage campaigns and refutations of suffrage claims. The frequency of its publication was also influenced by the intensity and number of suffrage campaigns. Initially started as an annual publication, it converted to a quarterly in 1907 when the suffrage movement began to collect political as well as popular impetus. Even the number of copies printed, which varied from 2,000 to 10,000 per issue, was determined by the number of states considering suffrage at any given time.¹⁵

Like the publications of the national suffrage, temperance, and prohibition movements, *The Remonstrance* kept its readership abreast of all the events, developments, issues, and gossip affecting the anti-suffrage movement. Like the publications of the reform movements, it reported events, debated issues, and expounded at great length on its own particular point of view. It reported the growth of its membership and the founding of new anti-suffrage organizations and publications. It gleefully reported the failure of suffrage campaigns, rifts within the suffrage movement, and the personal foibles of individual suffragists, frequently twisting their words to suit its own purposes. It monitored both the general and the reform press, and made liberal use of the information it found in them, clipping, quoting, re-organizing, and even reprinting entire articles.¹⁶

These were the tools of the trade of reform and special interest publications during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But while the publications of the suffrage, temperance, and prohibition movements were proactive and reflected the expanding social platforms of those movements, *The Remonstrance*, by its very nature as a countermovement publication, restricted itself to the narrow issue of opposition to suffrage. It never addressed working women's issues, welfare reform, or health care as did both the *Woman's Journal* of the suffrage movement and the *Union Signal* of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, except to argue that they were better off without women's votes. It never touched prohibition or abstention from tobacco as moral or political issues as did suffrage and prohibition publications, except to bring out the tension between suffrage and prohibition and the contradictory position suffragists took on it. Finally, although it was published by a woman's organization, *The Remonstrance* never celebrated women's achievements or progress as did both suffrage and temperance publications.¹⁷

As a countermovement publication, *The Remonstrance* viewed the world in primarily negative terms. Its arguments were almost always phrased in the negative -- women should *not* vote, women did *not* want to vote, women were *not* capable of voting, suffrage was *not* necessary.¹⁸ With the exception of those articles that reported on the growth of membership and the formation of new anti-suffrage associations, the publication's articles reporting on progress of the anti-suffrage movement actually focused on the *defeats* of the suffrage movement. No one ever "won" or declared a victory in stories in *The Remonstrance*: the California suffrage amendment had been defeated; the Wisconsin governor had vetoed an amendment; an English teachers' union had voted *against* endorsing suffrage.¹⁹ Even the suffragists' perseverance, grudgingly admired in the

general press, was cast in negative terms. "Looking back over four smashing defeats at the polls in 1915, and three more defeats in 1916," one article stated, "the suffrage leaders may well ask themselves whether the policy of abuse, insult and calumny which they have followed in all these campaigns have been justified by the results." The suffragists had been beaten and should have the good grace to give up, the article advised.¹⁰

Another aspect of the negative rhetoric of *The Remonstrance* can be observed in its failure to celebrate women's accomplishments, a theme that was widely exploited in suffrage publications. Articles reporting on working women often pointed out that they would gladly leave their jobs if afforded the possibility. Women who voted and ran for office in states allowing such behavior were chided for abandoning their true duties in the home. When the *Chicago Tribune* in 1913 published a story praising women and women's clubs for their civic achievements in that city, *The Remonstrance* quickly pointed out that women had accomplished this splendid work without the ballot. "But this is not all. This work of civic betterment could not have been done by the women so well, if at all, if they had the ballot," the article pointed out. "In that case, all these issues would have worn a partisan aspect. The women would have approached them as Republicans, as Democrats, or as Progressives, and their appeal would have been a party appeal."¹¹

Woman's sphere

Every issue of *The Remonstrance* contained articles that upheld and defended woman's sphere, or "the womanhood of woman," as several writers put it. According to the ideology of separate spheres, women possessed a unique social importance in their roles as wives, mothers, and moral arbiters. The home was the site from which women derived their power and also provided a peaceful refuge

from the rigors of the harsh and competitive commercial world of men. Woman suffrage, however, would destroy the separation of these two worlds and would force women into competition with men -- competition for which they were ill suited, unprepared, and little inclined.²²

In some articles, these concept were stated quite baldly:

Protection in the home and immunity from public service and labor, in order that her time and strength may be given to the supreme work of creating anew the human race; more and more, in the image of God, and for a destiny of progress and brotherhood, is the most ancient, the most fundamental, right of woman, and one in which the future of the race is deeply involved.²³

A decade later, a state legislator was quoted stating the same ideas, declaring that suffrage was an "attempt to revolt against nature," which had "given to either sex its peculiar work -- woman's sphere is in the home, man's sphere the world outside the home.... and it will be the same until the end of time." Another anti-suffragist wrote that the best work a woman could do toward purifying politics (a suffrage claim) was by her "influence over men, by the wise training of her children, by her intelligent, unselfish counsel to husband, brother, or friend, by a thorough knowledge and discussion of the needs of her community."²⁴

Other articles published in the journal merely alluded to the concept of woman's sphere with all its bags and baggage. If women became involved in politics, one writer asked, what would happen to the home in which husband and wife supported different parties?

If she is expected to exercise independent political judgement, this will promote domestic discord and weaken family ties by the mere fact of disagreement and discussion. It would be bad if it stopped here; but in order to make her vote effective, she must act with some organization, frequently supporting some other man against her husband. She must meet, confer, canvass, consult and also learn the low practices and little dirty deceptions of politics... What of the children who are growing up while father is working, caucusing, or making speeches for Smith on the democratic (sic) ticket, while mother is out until midnight with other associates whooping it up for Jones on the republican (sic) ticket?²⁵

The dire effects of women neglecting the domestic sphere could be found in

Denver, Colorado, where women had suffrage, but where a local judge had to take custody of delinquent children. "When a city in which mothers have voted for years turns out a crop of boys so bad," lamented *The Remonstrance* in 1915, "one is lost for evidence that the ballot has improved or strengthened the mother in the greatest task before her, the rearing of children who will be decent men and women." Some women were reported to have actually abandoned the home and marriage because, as in the case of a Providence housewife, "if she had remained at home, she 'would sacrifice time and energy that ought to be devoted to the cause of women's rights, dress reform and other movements.'" The episode provoked laughter, *The Remonstrance* commented, but the serious aspects of the story should be noted and "its warning not lost on the public mind."¹⁶

Another effect of suffrage on the domestic sphere, the journal found, was that it actually undermined a woman's security, for in the first four states to have suffrage, divorce rates had doubled.¹⁷ Here was a veiled warning that by claiming her rights, a woman might well lose the protection she had long enjoyed. Further, by claiming her rights, she somehow lost her womanly attributes. As Cardinal O'Connell of Boston warned, "something is passing in the heart and mind of women today which is leaving them hard and unwomanly, and ... year by year this transformation goes on until, if it continues, there will be neither home nor family, nor normal womanly nature left."¹⁸ And if men abandoned these women, *The Remonstrance* asked, could they really be blamed? According to the president of a prominent midwestern benevolent society, far from being municipal housekeepers ready to affect civic reforms, many women were incapable of even mothering their own homes. The condition of some of the homes under her purview, she stated, "almost justify the husband in running away from them. The wife who does not know her job must take her share of the blame for many cases of wife-

desertion."²⁹

What amazed many antis was that some suffragists went into such a decision with their eyes open. No longer content to argue that "there was nothing incompatible between political activities and women's life in the home," they had progressed to the point where one suffrage leader had declared in a statement to the *Chicago Examiner*, "The highest sphere for woman is not the home but independence. The girl who is earning a good salary is unwise or a coward if she gives up her position to marry a man." This was anathema for anti-suffragists, who considered marriage woman's supreme achievement.³⁰

Of course, as women anti-suffragists became more active and entered the public sphere to argue their position, their argument that woman's place was in the home became somewhat contradictory. To bring what they said and what they did into consonance, they employed the rhetoric of reluctant duty. After the death in 1901 of MAOFESW's first president, Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot, *The Remonstrance*, praised her sense of sacrifice: "Though adverse to speaking in public, she was always ready to do so when she felt that duty called, and the little that she said, she said wisely and with dignity."³¹ When suffragists taunted antis in 1904 with the charge that they were contradicting their own principals by organizing and speaking in public, *The Remonstrance* once again called up the ideology of sacred duty:

Women who make their opposition to woman suffrage public do not do so because they crave publicity. It is not pleasure but duty which calls them to appear before legislative committees. They accept a present inconvenience to avert future harm. They believe that it is injurious to women and injurious to the state to have women voting on equal terms with men, engaged with them in the turmoil of politics and sharing with them the responsibilities of government. It is for this reason they speak their views; and the women who have been active during the last few years in expressing the protest of women against the needless burden of the ballot feel well repaid by the change that has come over public sentiment during that time, and the check that has been imposed upon suffrage legislation.³²

Unlike the suffragists, however, the women antis were unwilling to take to the streets in open air rallies, marches, and demonstrations as suffragists were

beginning to do. Parlor meetings were acceptable, because they were held in a domestic setting and could be seen as a natural extension of woman's sphere. The publication and distribution of literature such as copies of *the Remonstrance* was acceptable because this was a natural extension of woman's educative function. But rallying on the streets in potentially violent situations flew in the face of all that these women held dear. Public appearances in exposed locations before unpredictable mobs was not only improper and unladylike, it exposed women to emotional as well as physical danger and could shatter the carefully constructed cocoon built up around the home and their lives. When British suffragists began to use physical acts and direct confrontation in their campaign for suffrage, *The Remonstrance* labelled their acts of "political expediency" as crimes against an ordered society. In 1909, when militants had smashed windows of Parliament and been dragged off to prison, the paper compared their actions to those of a young Hindu who had been convicted of the assassination of a British colonel, thus equating political protest to murder. These forms of physical violence (window smashing and assassination) in the name of political expediency, the article stated, were different in degree only. And it was only a matter of time before American suffragists would adopt the same methods, *The Remonstrance* warned, for "From sympathy to imitation is but a short step."³³ When suffragists took the unprecedented step in January 1917 of picketing the White House, *The Remonstrance* was outraged, labelling the action unseemly, petty, and monstrous. Not only were women risking all by leaving their rightful sphere, warned an article, they were "presuming upon their sex and upon the chivalry of men. Men doing what they are doing would have been arrested long ago."³⁴

The Remonstrance also saw the endorsement of suffrage by the Socialist Party as a threat to the domestic sphere. "Socialists are behind woman suffrage

and, if they should succeed in getting it... so will the Socialist Republic and Co-operative Commonwealth burst forth close in the wake of woman suffrage," warned a writer in 1913. "The Socialists call our present marriage ceremony 'useless and ridiculous' and they intend to substitute for it 'a mutual understanding' that can be terminated by 'quick, easy divorce at the will of either party.'" In the place of the home, Socialists would provide one kitchen and one laundry for many "so-called families." Children would be raised in state nurseries and mothers would be forced to go out of the home to earn a living under the state. In other words, all protections for women, children, the family, and the peace and privacy of the domestic sphere would be shattered.³⁵ In 1919, an article linked socialism and suffrage as two of the three steps toward chaos, the third being Bolshevism. Women would become the "property of the state," would register at a government "bureau of free love," would choose a cohabitant husband from those available (the man would have no right to refuse), or would be chosen by an available man (in which case, the woman would have no right to refuse), and children born of such unions would become "the property of the state." Clearly suffrage would lead to the destruction of any semblance of the domestic sphere.³⁶

Suffrage an unwanted burden

Anti-suffragists attempted to establish themselves as pro-woman and suffragists as anti-woman and anti-progressive. "The woman suffrage movement is a movement against the tide of social progress," *The Remonstrance* declared in 1907. "If it were to succeed, it would turn back the tide of social progress [and].... mark a return to unfavorable conditions from which women have slowly and with difficulty emerged." The farther one went back sociologically, the less the difference between the burdens and responsibilities of men and women.

Suffrage was not a right but a burden, and an unwanted burden at that.³⁷

The burden of suffrage would exhaust the resources of women already straining to do a good job in their natural sphere, the home. In 1912 a cartoon reprinted from the *Milwaukee Free Press* illustrated this by depicting a woman juggling a baby, a broom, a cooking pot (all symbols of the domestic sphere), and a ballot. "CAN SHE DO IT?" the headline asked rhetorically. "[W]omen have a right to claim exemption from political duty and responsibility, and... men have no right to lay the burden upon them," declared another writer. "There are long periods in the lives of women when they find their ordinary duties very heavy, and now a few eager ones wish to double this burden," complained another.³⁸

The argument here was that women who were carrying out their domestic duties responsibly would have neither the time nor energy to devote to political participation. This argument that suffrage was a burden was often tied to the argument that women did not want the vote. Here the anti-suffragists were somewhat hampered by the fact that even when their organizations were at their peak, their membership numbers were considerably smaller than those of suffrage organizations, but they explained this by saying that many women opposed to suffrage did not join organizations because they were loathe to become involved in any organization outside the domestic sphere. The anti-suffragists, instead, found its major evidence of women's desire not to vote in election statistics from suffrage states, citing every case of low woman voter turnout. But not all elections counted the male and female vote separately, so *The Remonstrance* found further evidence of woman's lack of interest in voting in the defeat of measures believed to be beneficial to women such as woman and child labor reform, anti-prostitution laws, and civic reform.³⁹

Finally, suffrage was not only an unwanted burden, but could become an

obligation. When, in 1918, an amendment to the Massachusetts Constitution gave the Legislature the authority to enforce compulsory voting at elections, *The Remonstrance* warned that voting would no longer be a privilege but a duty. "It is little less than a crime to impose such a burden as this, with its attendant penalties upon all Massachusetts women, at the strident demand of the minority." No longer could suffragists argue that the vote was a *choice* that should be available to all citizens, it pointed out.⁴⁰

Antis represented the majority of women

Finally, *The Remonstrance* struggled to create the impression that it represented the view of the majority of women and not only those of a few well-spoken leaders. Articles frequently attributed anti-suffrage sentiment to the "average woman," the "voice of the majority," and "the great majority of women" in an effort to deflect suffrage criticism that anti-suffragists represented only the elite. "Notwithstanding the contumacious inaccuracy with which a comparatively few women who seek the suffrage refer to themselves as 'the women of the State,'" stated one article, "the men in these states know on which side of this profoundly important question the most and the best of the women stand."⁴¹

Because the actual number of women in the antisuffrage organizations was small compared to the number of women in suffrage organizations it was essential to make it appear that the number of women in opposition to antisuffrage was much greater. Sometimes this had to be proven through *negative* rhetoric. "If there were any marked display of interest on the subject among women, the arguments of their self-appointed champions would have greater weight," pointed out one article.⁴² In another explaining the reasons against woman suffrage, *The Remonstrance* attempted to explode the myth that the "women who ask for the ballot

speak for their sex."

As to [this], evidence in disproof is found in the small proportion of women who exercised school suffrage in states where the right has been given them, and still more strikingly in the fact that, on the only occasion on which the sentiment of women has been fully and impartially tested -- at the Massachusetts referendum of 1895, when all women of voting age were permitted to vote Yes or No upon the question whether it was expedient that municipal suffrage be granted to women -- less than 4 percent of the women qualified to vote voted Yes.⁴³

The fact that women in states with full or partial suffrage often turned out to vote in less than spectacular numbers was provided as evidence that these women either did not want to or could not find the time to vote. Sometimes this evidence was used to suggest that only *irresponsible* women -- those who neglected their homes and families -- were the ones who were voting, which in a sense further disadvantaged the *responsible* women who stayed at home to fulfill their domestic duties. And in some cases, it was suggested, only the criminal or ignorant element among women turned out to vote. In Colorado, Los Angeles, and Wyoming, for example, it was suggested that voting fraud was rampant and women accepted bribes from the liquor industry to vote against prohibition measures.⁴⁴

Numbers supporting claims of anti-suffrage support among women were hard to come by, but in 1915, *The Remonstrance* published a full-page cartoon of a collie with a headline "Shall the Tail Wag the Dog?" Superimposed over the dog's body, from chest to haunches, are the words, "At least 90 percent of Massachusetts Women Do Not Want the Vote." Over the tail is written "Less than 10 percent demand the ballot." In 1919 an article discounted claims that the suffrage movement was a "great popular movement" by reporting that the Treasurer's report of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York State had shown that more than 80 percent of the \$420,405 spent in the suffrage campaign in the previous year had been contributed by only forty-seven individuals and that little more than \$1,200 had been raised as dues.⁴⁵

Even in January 1920, after the ratification of the federal suffrage

amendment, *The Remonstrance* was still protesting that its views represented those of the majority of women. "[T]he majority of women not only do not want to vote, but will not vote when the opportunity is offered." The article reported that less than one half the women qualified to register in New York City had done so, and that, in fact, the number registering had decreased by 50,000 from the previous year.⁴⁶

The Effects of Ideology on Organizational Structure

Anti-suffrage ideology was expressed not only through the rhetoric of the articles published in *The Remonstrance*, it was also expressed through the organizational structure of the MAOFESW and the editorial organization of the publication.

Massachusetts women anti-suffragists first began to organize in 1882 at the suggestion of state Senate President George G. Crocker, a prominent member of the state's Man Suffrage Association. After the success of their anti-suffrage petitions in defeating the first of many suffrage measures in the Massachusetts Legislature, the women continued to meet regularly in the homes of members of the group. Here they had teas and ladylike "parlor meetings" in which they discussed the suffrage question and prepared their petitions. At first they had no formal organization and relied greatly upon the advice of male friends and relatives such as Crocker.⁴⁷

In 1890 the women decided to publish their arguments and the group hired 40-year-old journalist Frank Foxcroft to edit a paper for them.⁴⁸ An assistant editor at the *Boston Journal* until 1904 and an editor at *Living Age* and *Youth's Companion*, Foxcroft was a member of the Man Suffrage Association who often spoke for anti-suffragists at legislative hearings on woman suffrage. He became an influential player in the MAOFESW, serving not only as editor of *The Remonstrance*

for more than 26 years, but also as the organization's publicist and literary advisor. Although he received a regular salary for these as well as his editorial services, his official connection to the association was never publicly acknowledged and in all the years he worked on *The Remonstrance* his title as editor was never printed in the paper.⁴⁹

The relationship between Foxcroft and the women of the MAOFESW is an example of one of the many ways in which anti-suffragists divided tasks between the male and female organizations in a way that reflected their adherence to the concept of separate spheres. By appointing Foxcroft rather than a woman as editor (at a time when women journalists were certainly available to fill the position and when woman suffrage journals were all edited by women), the women could sustain their argument that the true place of the woman was in the home and that leadership positions should be assumed by men. Thus it was Foxcroft who, in the first years of publication, put the ideas of the women antis into words and reprinted the words of others. Having Foxcroft as an ally also allowed the women of the MAOFESW to maintain their position that politics was no place for a woman. When it was necessary to present anti-suffrage arguments in the Legislature, they were able to "present no lady speakers if it could be avoided" and call instead on the assistance of Foxcroft and other members of the Man Suffrage Association.⁵⁰

But because the function of *The Remonstrance* was primarily educative, it was in keeping with the ideology of the woman's sphere for the women of the MAOFESW to participate in its publication. Thus, members of the executive committee suggested topics and articles to Foxcroft, reviewed material he suggested, and had the final say on what he would print.⁵¹ The system generally worked smoothly, albeit slowly, and continued in this unwieldy fashion until

1908, a year after the publication became a quarterly. At this point, the executive committee appointed a permanent committee to serve as liaison with Foxcroft.⁵²

An examination of *The Remonstrance* over the thirty years of its publication offers concrete evidence of the slowly evolving ideas of the anti-suffragists about their role in the countermovement. When it first appeared in February 1890, the four-page paper indicated only the place and date of publication; it provided neither the name of a publisher nor an editor, and gave no attribution whatsoever to any of its dozen articles. With successive issues, *The Remonstrance* gradually took on a more substantial appearance as it became the established voice of the anti-suffrage association and as the association became more organized. Part of this process was to identify who was responsible for the publication and what its purpose was. Thus, in its 1891 issue, the paper published a prospectus on its front page. This message, which remained essentially the same over the next three decades, aptly summarized the basic arguments of anti-suffrage:

The Remonstrance is addressed to the Legislatures of the several States by Women Remonstrants against the extension of suffrage to women. It expresses the views of such Remonstrants in Massachusetts, Maine, Illinois, and other states who believe that the great majority of their sex do not want the ballot, and that to force it upon them would not only be an injustice to women, but would lessen their influence for good and would imperil the community. The Remonstrants ask a thoughtful consideration of their views in the interest of fair discussion.⁵³

The next substantive change occurred in 1896, one year after the women anti-suffragists adopted the name Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. In that year, the name of the association was published immediately below the prospectus. Below this were listed the names of the fifteen members of the association's executive committee, including those of Sarah H. Crocker, daughter of the state senator, and Mrs. Francis Lowell, wife of the chairman of the Man Suffrage Association Executive Committee. In keeping

with the women's discomfort with singling out individuals and ascribing leadership to any in particular, though, the names were listed in alphabetical order and no officers were identified except Mrs. Charles Eliot (Mary) Guild, who had called for the formal organization and had been elected secretary. In addition, a man, Laurence Minot, was identified as treasurer.⁵⁴

In 1898, MAOFESW took a further step toward defining itself by publishing on its front page a paragraph describing the association. Most likely in an effort to impress upon readers the depth and breadth of the association, this brief description included the date of organization, the number of branch committees (eighteen), the number of communities in which members lived (141), and a description of the membership. In an apparent effort to counter suffrage criticism that anti-suffragists came from the privileged elite, *The Remonstrance* stated that the Association's membership included "professional women, wage-earners, and home-keeping wives and mothers," a statement it continued to publish for the next twenty-two years.⁵⁵ Although MAOFESW, like most women's antisuffrage organizations, was made up of mostly upper and middle-class women, it was important for the association to appear more inclusive than it actually was. Its strategy of claiming members from all classes and occupations, however, was somewhat contradicted by its strategy elsewhere in the publication to characterize these very women as "an anomaly and an exception." Working women, even those who had "satisfying" jobs, would, in the words of one writer, "fling to the winds all her past acquirements, all her future prospects, for the sake of getting married." In an article reprinted from *Outlook*, a business woman stated that though she did not believe she would ever give up her work in real estate and devote her time to household duties, she firmly believed "The place for the normal woman is at home, if she have one; her best occupation is looking

after that home and rearing her children."⁵⁶

The MAOFESW elected its first officers in 1897, but it wasn't until 1899 that their names were published in *The Remonstrance*, with Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot as president, Mrs. Charles E. Guild and Mrs. Henry M. Whitney as vice presidents, Mrs. Robert M. Lord as secretary, and Laurence Minot as treasurer. As has been observed above, most of the leaders of women's anti-suffrage organizations were linked to prominent men in the community and some were active in civic or philanthropic activities. Mrs. J. Eliot Cabot, for example, had held an elective position as overseer of the poor in Boston for several years, and had been a member of the Brookline School Committee as well as chair of the Volunteer Aid Association and president of the Mayflower Club.⁵⁷ Margaret F. Green Whitney, instead, was best known as the wife of capitalist Henry M. Whitney; Cornelia Prime Baylies Lowell, who was on the executive committee from 1896 to 1899, was the wife of a judge; Mrs. Eben Draper, who served as vice president from 1903-1907, became the state's first lady in 1909 when her husband, a wealthy manufacturer, was elected governor; Mabel Simpkins Agassiz, who was vice president from 1915 to 1917, was the wife of the prominent author George Agassiz; and Mary Katrine Rice Sedgewick, who was on the executive committee in 1896 and 1897, was married to William T. Sedgewick, a biology professor who frequently published anti-suffrage "scientific" articles in national publications. Only a few of the organization's officers, such as Agnes Irwin, the dean of Radcliffe College and MAOFESW vice president from 1907 to 1910, and Anna Laurens Dawes, a published author, could claim fame on the basis of their own work.⁵⁸

By the turn of the century, MAOFESW, which had started out with most of its members from Boston and Cambridge, had expanded its influence throughout the state, claiming twenty-five branch and members in 164 cities and towns. (By 1920,

these numbers had grown to 158 branch committees and 41,635 members in 443 communities.)⁵⁹ The association held parlor meetings throughout the year, but increased their frequency during periods leading up to the consideration of suffrage measures in the legislature. At these ladylike meetings, association officers distributed anti-suffrage literature and copies of *The Remonstrance* to recruit new members and influence voters. For the anti-suffragists, both the paper and the pamphlets were vital tools in their campaign to convince women to convince their menfolk to oppose suffrage. "We hope," Guild told a meeting of women in Suffolk County in 1897, "that every woman interested will persuade others, both men and women, to read these papers, and to make up their minds only after a fair examination of the subject." Like many reformers of the time, suffragists included, Guild was convinced that people had only to read her side of the story to be convinced.⁶⁰

As MAOFESW expanded its activities, financial pressures, which had always been a problem, became acute. The financial situation directly affected *The Remonstrance*, and many editorial decisions -- the number of pages per issue, the number of copies per issue, the number of issues per year -- were determined by the amount of money the association had in its treasury. Unlike suffragists who had no compunctions about soliciting funds from suffrage journal subscribers and the public, the women of the MAOFESW were severely hampered since they were reluctant to even discuss "money," which by definition had no part in the woman's sphere. A clear indication of this discomfort with handling money is that for the first seventeen years the association's treasurer was a man, Laurence Minot.⁶¹

Certainly money was a distasteful subject to these upper middle class women, who, for the most part, neither earned nor controlled their own money but instead depended on inheritance or the generosity of husbands and male relatives.

Rather than face the unladylike task of soliciting funds, they at first relied on the members of the Man Suffrage Association and a few independently wealthy female members to come up with the cash to keep *The Remonstrance* in press.⁶² It was only after considerable debate that the executive committee decided in 1902 that "there would be no harm" in sending regular subscribers and donors an appeal for additional funds, explaining the obvious -- that the "Association need[s] money to carry out its work."⁶³ Four years later, the executive committee expanded this request to select men throughout the state by sending out a circular letter soliciting a contribution of \$25 to allow a wider distribution of the association's views on suffrage. The women's dignity was protected, however, for the appeal was signed by the three male members of the association's finance committee, George G. Crocker, Laurence Minot, and Charles Warren, who would actually handle any money that came in. The names of the officers of the MAOFESW appeared only after these at the bottom of the letter.⁶⁴ It was not until 1918 that *The Remonstrance* began to openly appeal for funds, suggesting that anti-suffragists follow the lead of suffragist Mrs. Frank Leslie, who had left more than one million dollars to the suffrage movement in her will. Anti-suffragists did not intend to "follow Suffragist methods in the large expenditure of money," *The Remonstrance* stated, "but a permanent Anti-Suffrage Fund, the income of which could be drawn upon to re-enforce current contributions, would be of great use to the cause."⁶⁵

Only a fraction of the association's budget went toward publication of *The Remonstrance*, but when in 1906 Foxcroft first suggested the paper become a quarterly, much of the ensuing debate focused on whether the association could afford the additional cost.⁶⁶ The executive committee voted to support the project, and the first quarterly edition appeared in 1907. In 1913, with a

virtual explosion in the number of woman suffrage campaigns across the country, Foxcroft again proposed increasing the frequency of publication, this time to monthly issues at an estimated cost of \$1,000 per year. Here, however, the executive committee drew the line, stating that "the cost was considered prohibitive." The proposal was rejected.⁶⁷

The association never did, in fact, devise a way to make *The Remonstrance* self-supporting. Although it began soliciting twenty-five cents per year for annual subscriptions in 1908, the majority of copies were given away free to state legislatures, organizational committees, newspaper editors, women's colleges, libraries, members of the standing and executive committees, and donors. The possibility of soliciting paid advertisements was brought up in 1913, but was quickly rejected as either too impractical (circulation was thought to be too small to attract advertisers), or too distasteful.⁶⁸

With the passage of years, the women of the MAOFESW gradually became comfortable with their role as organizers and claimed more responsibility in the publication of *The Remonstrance*. As has already been noted, they allowed their names to appear in the publication in 1896, and in 1899 published the names of their officers. They also eventually began to develop a more stratified administrative structure and took over key positions they initially had assigned to men. Thus in 1902, Mrs. James M. Codman replaced treasurer Laurence Minot. In 1916, in her second year as president of the organization, Codman also assumed the role of editor, replacing Foxcroft, although the name of the editor was never published in the paper. In that same year, MAOFESW changed its name to the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, thus officially, though somewhat belatedly, declaring the character of the organization as a woman's organization. These were probably radical developments in the eyes of the

conservative anti-suffragists, but in the context of the times, they were long overdue measures that had already been taken by their opponents more than thirty years before.

Conclusions

Both the Massachusetts women's association and *The Remonstrance* survived until 1920, when the suffrage amendment became the law of the land.⁶⁹ In its last year, the association tried desperately to continue its mission, but as the number of ratifying states had begun to add up after Congress approved the amendment in June 1919, support of anti-suffrage evaporated. Even veteran members of the executive committee began to withdraw their support, and on July 26, 1919, for the first time since its official organization in 1895, the executive committee had to cancel a meeting because it lacked the required quorum.⁷⁰ During these last months, a frequent question at meetings was whether *The Remonstrance* should be continued, but it was not until September 3, 1920 that the committee voted to discontinue the paper after the October edition and to render a "vote of appreciation to the editor."⁷¹

Both the MAOFESW and *The Remonstrance* made some concessions to the times during their thirty-year battle against suffrage. Women anti-suffragists stepped from behind their veil of anonymity and allowed their names to be published, took office, and declared their positions as leaders of the movement. They left the protective walls of the home to organize and speak publicly in an effort to convince the public their mission was right and for the good of women as well as society. *The Remonstrance* gradually adopted an organizational structure that acknowledged the active roles these women were taking, but its arguments that woman's place was in the home, that suffrage was a burden, and that women did not want the vote remained virtually unchanged.

Changes in the American social and cultural structure during those thirty years outpaced the changes anti-suffragists were willing to make. Woman's sphere, which had been practically the only option for the vast majority of women in the 1890s, was no longer their only option in 1920. Universities had opened their doors and satisfying jobs in businesses, offices, and the professions were becoming possible. With the opening up of professions, more women were choosing to remain unmarried, and with the liberalization of property and divorce laws, divorced women were no longer without financial options. With the start of the First World War, women's participation in civic and patriotic efforts was solicited by the government and rewarded with social approbation. In a country fighting for world democracy, woman suffrage was a logical measure.

By 1920, then, American sentiment had moved to a point where anti-suffrage rhetoric seemed increasingly irrelevant to the lives of most American women and illogical to many of the men in a position to vote for suffrage. Neither the MAOFESW nor *The Remonstrance* were willing to concede this, however, arguing to the very end that the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment was bogus and illegal and that "the majority" of men and women truly did not want woman suffrage.⁷² This seemed strident and even delusional in the light of recent events, but it is evidence that anti-suffragists, who had once echoed the mainstream rhetoric of nineteenth century prescriptions for women's behavior, had failed to keep step with public and political sentiment.

Notes

1. Tahi L. Motl, "The Analysis of Countermovements," *Social Problems* 27:5 (June 1980): 620-635; Mayer N. Zald and Bert Useem, "Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Intervention," chap. in *Social Movements in an Organizational Society* (New York: Transactional Books, 1987), 247-272.
2. Zald and Useem, "Movement and Countermovement Action," 250-256.
3. Motl, "The Analysis of Countermovements," 622; Steven M. Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 198.
4. Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall), 318-19; Buechler, *Women's Movements*, 198.
5. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of University of Harvard Press, 1975), 304-18; Buechler, *Women's Movements*, 171-202.
6. Ida Husted Harper, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5 (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1969), 678-80; "Anti Suffrage Organizations," *The Reply*, May 1913. *The Reply* was published from 1913-1915 by Connecticut anti-suffragist Helen S. Harmon-Brown. MAOFESW changed its name to the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts in 1916.
7. "A New Men's Association," *The Remonstrance*, October 1912, 8.
8. Susan Marshall, "Ladies Against Women: Mobilization Dilemmas of Antifeminist Movements," *Social Problems* 32:4 (April 1983): 351-55; "Successes of the Man Suffrage Association," *The Reply*, September 1914.
9. By 1920 the MAOFESW claimed 42,635 members. The NACWS claimed more than 350,000. (*The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1920, 1; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 183.)
10. Linda Steiner, "Creating Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (Summer 1983): 1-15. Leading suffrage publications were *The Woman's Journal*, founded by the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1870 and adopted as the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890, and the *Suffragist*, founded by the national Woman's Party in 1913. The leading anti-suffrage publications were *The Remonstrance*, founded by the MAOFESW in 1890 (which was renamed *The Remonstrance Against Woman Suffrage* in 1915), and the *Woman's Protest*, founded by the NYSAOFEWS in 1912. In 1918 this last publication was reestablished as the *Woman Patriot*, which was published in Washington, D.C., in cooperation with the Man

Suffrage Association. The subtitle of this last publication was "For Home and National Defense Against Woman Suffrage, Feminism, and Socialism."

11. For discussion of the ideology of the woman suffrage movement, see Aileen Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965).

12. For discussion of anti-suffrage ideology, see: Janet Saltzman Chafetz and Anthony Gary Dworkin, "In the Face of Threat: Organized Anti-Feminism in Comparative Perspective," *Gender and Society*, 1:1 (March 1987): 33-60; Louise L. Stevenson, "Women Anti-Suffragists in the 1915 Massachusetts Campaign," *New England Quarterly* 52:1 (1979): 80-93; also Kraditor, *Ideas of Woman Suffrage*.

13. Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 318. The authors make this observation about the general arguments addressed to the public by a countermovement. They do not specifically address countermovement publications.

14. Marshall, "Women Anti-Suffragists," 350.

15. Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (hereafter MAOFESW) Executive Committee Minutes, 30 Dec. 1904, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.; MAOFESW Executive Minutes, 14 Feb 14 1902, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Minutes, MAOFESW Papers, 27 March 1908, reel 2.

16. *The Remonstrance*, 1890-1920, passim.

17. For a discussion of suffrage and temperance publications, see Elizabeth Burt, "An Arena of Debate: Woman Suffrage, the Liquor Industry, and the Press" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1994), 69-137, 213-250.

18. "California Women Did Not Want the Ballot," *The Remonstrance*, October 1912; "Not Woman's Work," *The Remonstrance*, October 1912.

19. "An Overwhelming Suffrage Defeat," *The Remonstrance*, October 1912; "Another Suffrage Defeat in England," *The Remonstrance*, January 1913; "Teachers Against Suffrage," *The Remonstrance*, July 1912.

20. "Did It Pay?" *The Remonstrance*, January 1917.

21. "What Chicago Women Have Done," *The Remonstrance*, October 1913.

22. See, for example, "For the Sake of Womanhood," *The Remonstrance*, 1893, 4.

23. "The Reasons for Remonstrance," *The Remonstrance*, 1892, 2.

24. "A Revolt Against Nature," *The Remonstrance*, Sept. 1911, 4; Adeline Whitney, "Woman's Best Public Service," *The Remonstrance*, 1892, 3. The legislator was Wisconsin Assemblyman C. H. Dormer.

25. "An Apple of Discord," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1912, 8.

26. "Suffrage and the Home," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1915, 8; "Too Busy for Home Life," *The Remonstrance*, 1893, 4.
27. "Promise and Performance," *The Remonstrance*, June 1911, 4.
28. "The New Paganism," *The Remonstrance*, April 1914, 3.
29. "Mothering the Community," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1914, 5. The speaker was Catherine Can Wyck, president of the Wisconsin State Conference on Charities and Corrections.
30. "Not Woman's Work," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1912, 7. The article quoted Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.
31. *The Remonstrance*, 1902, 1.
32. "A Duty to Keep Still?" *The Remonstrance*, 1904, 2.
33. "The Resort to Physical Violence," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1909, 3; "The Drift Toward Militantism," *The Remonstrance*, Jan. 1910, 1. See also "From Window-Smashing to Arson and Dynamiting," *The Remonstrance*, April 1913, 5.
34. "An Unseemly Spectacle," "Petty and Monstrous," "Something Beside Silliness," all in *The Remonstrance*, April 1917, 4.
35. "The Real Danger of Woman Suffrage," *The Remonstrance*, July 1913, 3.
36. "Three Steps Toward Chaos," *The Remonstrance*, Jan. 1919, 1-2.
37. "Against the Tide," *The Remonstrance*, 1907, 2.
38. "Can She Do It?" *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1912, 5; "An Unjust Burden," *The Remonstrance*, 1892, 2; "Doubling Woman's Burdens," *The Remonstrance*, 1895, 3.
39. "Promise and Performance," *The Remonstrance*, June 1911, 4.
40. "Compulsory Voting for Women," *The Remonstrance*, July 1919, 6.
41. "Average Women," *The Remonstrance*, 1892, 2; "The Voice of the Majority," *The Remonstrance*, 1899, 3; "Anti-Suffragists in Vermont," *The Remonstrance*, 1897, 1; "The Women of the State," *The Remonstrance*, Jan. 1916, 4.
42. "Women not Interested," *The Remonstrance*, 1905, 3.
43. "Reasons Against Woman Suffrage," *The Remonstrance*, Jan. 1908, 1.
44. "California Women Did Not Want the Ballot," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1912, 2; "One Delusion of Female Suffrage," *The Remonstrance*, 1906, 2; "Frauds in Colorado," *The Remonstrance*, 1905, 3; "Temperance and Suffrage," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1912, 1.

45. "Shall the Tail Wag the Dog?" *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1915, 7; *The Remonstrance*, Jan 1919, 5.

46. "Too Great a Risk," *The Remonstrance*, Jan. 1920, 1.

47. Mrs. Charles Eliot Guild, "The Early Days of the Remonstrants Against Woman Suffrage: A Memory Sketch by Their First President," MAOFESW Papers, reel 2. Some of the men were Judge Francis Lowell, MIT professor William T. Sedgewick, and state Representative Charles R. Saunders, who was later hired to act as counsel to the women's association. (Guild, "Early Days," 10.)

48. Guild, "Early Days," 2.

49. "Frank Foxcroft," *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942* (Chicago, Illinois: A. N. Marquis Co., 1943), 420; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 12 April 1900, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, Treasurer's Report, 9 Oct. 1903, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 15 Aug. 1913, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2. Foxcroft left his position as editor in 1916; at about that time, his wife, who was a member of the association, became its recording secretary.

50. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, Jan. 1902, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2. On this occasion, the executive committee asked Foxcroft and three other men to speak against a proposal that would allow women to vote on applications for liquor licenses.

51. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 22 Dec. 1899, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 3 Nov. 1904, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A.

52. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 27 Mar. 1908, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A.

53. *The Remonstrance*, 1891, 1. Over the years this prospectus was lengthened to include the names of the states in which anti-suffragists had organized.

54. *The Remonstrance*, 1896, 1; Guild, "The Early Days of the Remonstrants Against Woman Suffrage," p. 3. As was the custom of the time, married women used their husband's name. The first and maiden names of some of the women in the organization have been found by examining *Who Was Who in America* and the *New York Times Index*, which rarely have entries for the women but often mention them in entries about their husbands.

55. *The Remonstrance*, 1898, p. 1.

56. Mrs. Horace Davis, "The True Function of the Normal Woman," in J. A. Haien, ed., *Anti-Suffrage Essays by Massachusetts Women* (Boston, 1916), 123; "From a Working Woman's Point of View," *The Remonstrance*, 1900, 2; "a Business Woman's View," *The Remonstrance*, 1898, 1.

57. *The Remonstrance*, 1892, 1.

58. *The Remonstrance*, 1897-1920, passim. While these women are rarely mentioned in *Who Was Who in America*, biographical dictionaries, or the *New York Times Obituary Index*, the names of their fathers and husbands can often be found, where they are described as politicians, scientists, authors, economists, lawyers, and businessmen.

59. *The Remonstrance*, 1899, 1; *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1920, 1

60. "An Early Statement of Mrs. Guild's", 1897, 4, MAOFESW Papers, reel 3.

61. *The Remonstrance*, 1896-1902, passim. Mrs. James M. Codman became treasurer in 1902 (*The Remonstrance*, June 1902, 1).

62. "Report of Special Meeting of Executive Committee with the Gentlemen," MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 15 Dec. 1899, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 18 April 1909, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 8 May 1914, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2. Mary S. Ames, MAOFESW president from 1910-1912, and vice president of the NAOWS in 1912, donated substantial sums to the association.

63. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 14 March 1902, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.

64. "Dear Sir," 15 Nov. 1906, MAOFESW Papers, reel 3.

65. "Remember the Cause," *The Remonstrance*, Oct. 1918, 5. Mrs. Frank Leslie, the wealthy publisher of *Leslie's Weekly* and a chain of magazines, bequeathed the funds to Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in 1914. Catt pumped the funds into the 1917 suffrage campaign in New York State and into suffrage publications such as the *Woman's Journal*. (Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 282.)

66. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 12 Dec. 1906 and 12 March 1907, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A.

67. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 15 Aug. 1913, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.

68. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 8 Oct. 1908 and 14 Feb. 1908, MAOFESW Papers, reel 1A; MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 15 Aug. 1913, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.

69. In 1916, MAOFESW changed its name to the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts and in 1917, the name of its publication was lengthened to *The Remonstrance Against Woman Suffrage*. The executive committee, greatly reduced, continued to meet until 1921. (MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 1 April 1921, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.)

70. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 26 July 1919, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.

71. MAOFESW Executive Committee Minutes, 3 Sept. 1920, MAOFESW Papers, reel 2.

72. "An Outrageous Invasion of State Rights," 7, "Every Step Illegal," 1, "To
The Supreme Court, " 6, "What Suffrage Means in the Cities, 8, all in *The*
Remonstrance, October 1920.

Running head: SCRIPPS

Seeking the Editorial High Ground:
E.W. Scripps' Experiment in Adless Journalism

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Abstract

This paper examines The Day Book, published in Chicago from 1911 to 1917 and regarded as the nation's first sustained adless daily newspaper. E.W. Scripps wanted to create a paper supported entirely by circulation revenue and committed to a higher threshold of editorial integrity and independence than he regarded as possible with advertising-subsidized journalism. Eighty years later, The Day Book remains largely a forgotten experiment. An analysis of The Day Book's content suggests that the paper did succeed in covering department stores and other businesses in a way that expanded the boundaries of news and held advertisers accountable. In so doing, Scripps laid the groundwork for a new model of public-interest journalism that can inform present debates on the freedom of the mass media, the integrity of news and information, and public policy for the Internet.

Introduction

Ten days after Christmas, a feisty little Chicago daily rang in the year 1917 by devoting the whole of its front page to denouncing the city's largest department store as a Scrooge.¹ The banner headline read: "MARSHALL FIELD XMAS 'PRESENT' TO HELP JOKE OF STATE ST." The Day Book went on to explain that during a successful drive to record profits in 1916, Marshall Field & Co. executives "posted notices praising their employees and urging them on to greater effort." Inspired by this rallying and suggestions that their work would not go unrewarded, employees expected that the store would express its gratitude through a Christmas bonus, following the example of a smaller store in town, The Fair. Instead, the newspaper reported, Marshall Field bestowed on its workers yet another letter on Dec. 29, this one commending them for their diligence and reminding them to focus their energies on the new year. Marshall Field's holiday greeting concluded: " 'The Store of the Christmas Spirit' fully justified its title by the atmosphere of cordiality and good will which was everywhere in evidence, and we sincerely hope that this spirit will continue as one of the permanent characteristics of this store. The year 1917 now before us is teeming with great and pleasant possibilities. To the full utilization and enjoyment of these we now direct your best thought and energy." ² With that, the newspaper account ended. The Day Book evidently regarded the letter as sufficiently self-incriminating; the store posted its penuriousness for all to read.

Two days later, however, the editor of The Day Book, Negley D. Cochran, apparently wanting to be sure the point was not lost on company executives and readers, published an open letter in which he took to task John G. Shedd, Marshall

¹ The Day Book, Jan. 4, 1917.

² *ibid.*, p. 2.

Field's president, in a way that left no doubt as to how disgraceful he held the store's actions to be.³ Cochran pointed out that the store received inflated war prices for what it sold and sold more than ever before. The scores of employees who bought, arranged, sold, handled, and delivered the goods did the bulk of the work, but most of the profits, Cochran continued, went to two people. He wrote: "Marshall Field III and Henry Field, the polo-playing, society-buzzing, lazy-loafing heirs of old Marshall Field, didn't do a thing." At the same time, "every employe [sic] in the big store had to pay war-prices for everything they ate and wore and used in 1916. You knew how the cost of living had soared, and why it was harder for every employe [sic] to make both ends meet. . . . Did you do anything to make 1916 the most profitable year in THEIR lives?" Then Cochran's letter took a markedly personal and moralistic turn. He called Shedd "an old man" without much time to live. He challenged Shedd to consider "what you have done to make the lives of those employees happier and better. I know you are rich, and that you are a bank director, a railroad director and a man of high standing in business circles. But how do you stand with humanity? How do you stand with yourself?" The only right course, in Cochran's mind, was for Shedd to use his position and power to redistribute earnings so that more of the money reached the workers. "If you do that, John Shedd," he wrote in closing, "you'll have a right to die happy."

The Day Book may have decency and fairness on its side, but from a business point of view, directing such a strident attack against a major advertiser in town appears suicidal. Certainly the newspaper could have couched the original story in more tactful language; regardless, it could have left out the highly charged open letter. Why would a newspaper risk making an enemy of one of its greatest potential sources of revenue? For The Day Book, an experimental project of E.W. Scripps, the turn-of-

³ The Day Book, Jan. 6, 1917, pp. 9-10

the-century press baron, such a risk in fact never existed: Unlike its newspaper competitors in Chicago, The Day Book accepted no ads. It is regarded as the nation's first sustained general-circulation adless daily,⁴ bankrolled by the man who had assembled the nation's first major newspaper chain.⁵ By the time The Day Book appeared on Sept. 28, 1911, Scripps already had a string of two dozen dailies that owed a good measure of their financial success to advertising. But Scripps had something different in mind with The Day Book. He sought to create a profitable paper that would be supported entirely by circulation revenue and at the same time committed to a higher threshold of editorial independence than he regarded as possible with advertising-subsidized journalism.

Eighty years later, The Day Book remains largely a forgotten experiment. Historians and other scholars have yet to take a full measure of the newspaper Scripps regarded as among his greatest contributions to journalism. As Ben H. Bagdikian observed, Scripps' "success" with adless and limited-ad ventures – The Day Book being the most ambitious of these – is "relegated to brief mention" in historical accounts.⁶ In the handful of books and articles in which The Day Book is

⁴ See Oliver H. Knight (Ed.), I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E. W. Scripps (Madison, WI: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); A. M. Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America (NY: Macmillan, 1937); M. E. Pew, "Shop Talk at Thirty," Editor & Publisher (Aug. 20, 1932), p. 48.

⁵ See William G. Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (NY: Da Capo Press, 1973; republication of the original 1927 work, published by Houghton Mifflin).

⁶ Ben H. Bagdikian, The Media Monopoly (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997, 5th ed.), p. 147. Bagdikian does not list the books he has in mind, but a credible authority on such a list would be J. Vanden Heuvel's Untapped Sources: America's Newspaper Archives and Histories (NY: Gannett Foundation Media Center, April 1991). The monograph lists "the handful of standard works narrating the story of the press in the United States" (p. ix). Though the list is by no means exhaustive, the four books published in this century provide a useful reference guide for examining the treatment of Scripps and the Day Book. Bleyer's Main Currents does not mention the adless paper at all; only a few sentences are given to Scripps' experiences with advertising and the Day Book in Michael and Edwin Emery's The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996, 8th ed.) and Frank L. Mott's American Journalism: A History of Newspapers (NY: Macmillan, 1941). Lee's The Daily Newspaper includes several pages on the adless paper.

mentioned, the primary concern tends to be financial: whether Scripps proved that an adless newspaper can be self-sustaining.⁷ What is generally overlooked in the analysis is The Day Book's coverage of the news and issues of the times, which Scripps envisioned as a potential model of journalistic integrity and independence that would put the public's interest ahead of the advertisers' interest.

A review of The Day Book suggests that whatever its financial prognosis, the paper did succeed in providing vigorous coverage of department stores and other advertisers and holding them accountable as a democratic press would be expected to do. Early on the paper struggled to find its editorial voice and experimented with different formats, often favoring fiction, jokes, household hints, and other features over hard news. To Scripps way of thinking, the paper's audience of working-class readers already had enough hardships in life: The Day Book should be enjoyable reading. Cochran even published a few newsless issues in 1912 along the lines of a magazine. But when circulation went into a tailspin, Scripps ordered a realignment of the content.⁸ The tinkering continued, with Cochran adding harder-hitting news stories, condensed news briefs, and a personal column, and in 1914 Scripps said The Day Book appeared to be "a model production."⁹ Cochran continued to finetune The Day Book, letting the little paper increasingly reflect his personality and opinions, as Scripps wished. In many respects the paper appeared to be just hitting stride with a series of critical stories on department stores in 1917, when Scripps folded the operation and sent Cochran to the national office in Washington. Though The Day Book failed to turn a profit, it had aggressively covered businesses and demonstrated

⁷ See Negley D. Cochran, E. W. Scripps (NY: Harcourt, Brace, 1933); Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions and "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper, The Day Book," Journalism Quarterly (Winter 1964); and Lee, The Daily Newspaper.

⁸ Scripps to Cochran, May 17, 1912.

⁹ Scripps to Cochran, April 2, 1914.

the broad range of content open to a press free of both government and advertising pressures.¹⁰

Scripps and Advertising

On the eve of assuming the editor's position at a new Scripps paper in Houston, the Press, Paul C. Edwards told of traveling on May 17, 1911, to visit Scripps at his "Miramar" ranch on a vast mesa north of San Diego.¹¹ On the first night, following dinner and the dismissal of all the guests save Edwards, Scripps grilled the 29-year-old man with a spate of questions on the history and workings of Houston, evidently to his satisfaction. The following day Scripps talked for hours, with Edwards scarcely getting in more than a few words, about his philosophy of journalism and the strengths and weaknesses he observed in himself and those who worked for him. The next morning was the same; at 9 o'clock Scripps began talking, and he went on without a break until noon. By this time Edwards felt reasonably well-informed on the organization's state of affairs, but on the third morning Scripps again sent for him. This time, however, Scripps called for his secretary and, with Edwards present, commenced dictating a letter that began: "My dear Mr. Edwards."¹²

Scripps used the opportunity to convey in the strongest of terms his distrust of advertising in the newspaper business. The May 20 letter – a copy of which Edwards took along back to Houston, where he founded the Press on September 25 – began by informing Edwards that he would have an initial grace period during which he

¹⁰ The Day Book consistently lost money, though the average monthly deficit declined from \$2,690.44 in 1912 to \$1,270.46 in 1916, according to Cochran, E.W. Scripps, p. 142. The paper showed one profitable month: \$319.65 in January 1917.

¹¹ Knight, I Protest. Selected Disquisitions, pp. 219-230.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 223.

would have latitude to set news policy to his liking and experiment with the journalistic enterprise. But the time would come when the paper would be regarded increasingly as a property, and the stockholders, Edwards among them, might be tempted to increase its value at the expense of editorial independence. To guard against this, Scripps told Edwards to prevent the advertising business from growing too quickly. He urged him to "so conduct your paper that never at any one time will you be tempted to color in the least possible particular your editorial policy for the purpose of maintaining the patronage of advertisers."¹³ It is easier, he continued, to "resist the temptation to do cowardly and crooked work for the purpose of getting a new patron than it is to resist the temptation of doing the same thing for the purpose of maintaining patronage." The right approach from the outset, therefore, is to regard potential advertisers as "your enemies" and "men of extremely sordid minds" whose only interest is in making money.

Scripps acknowledged that he has wanted all of his papers to be profitable, but he maintained that his overriding purpose has been to develop papers with a burgeoning circulation and vital role in the life of the community. He advised Edwards to start without soliciting any advertisements, and indeed, not to print any advertising at all. Instead, Edwards might print a notice informing potential advertisers and other readers that when circulation reaches a certain level, the paper will begin accepting advertisements. Following this course, he wrote, "you would have created a personality for your paper and established all of its principles so that every advertiser whose patronage you should thereafter obtain would come to you with his business well knowing that you were independent and resourceful and that he would have no possible reason for hoping or expecting to influence your editorial course by his

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 225.

patronage."¹⁴ Publish not for advertisers, Scripps exhorted, but for "that class of people and only that class of people from whom you cannot even hope to derive any other income than the one cent a day they pay you for your paper."¹⁵

During his return trip to Texas, Edwards said he could not help reflecting on the apparent incongruities between the advice he has just received and the man from whom he had received it. For while Scripps continually spoke of using his financial and journalism resources to improve the lot of the working class, or "the 95 per cent" as he called them,¹⁶ he lived "on his ranch like a potentate, master of all he surveyed, seeing only those he wanted to see."¹⁷ On the barren desert mesa where "Miramar" began to flower in 1891, Scripps built a house with about 40 rooms, planted a lemon orchard of 100 acres and 700 acres more of eucalyptus trees, and constructed dams to catch rainfall. As Scripps walked the grounds of his year-round abode, the only immediate reminder of the masses who struggled for a living was to be found in the servants who toiled for him. He employed large crews of Japanese house servants as well as men who worked on the ranch grounds. Though Edwards acknowledged feeling somewhat troubled by Scripps' retreat to this baronial estate, he went on to note that "the more I thought upon it the more convinced I became that he was sound and sincere in his principles, that he believed in the rightness of his purpose and that he was, indeed, a friend of the people, a democrat in the true sense of the word."¹⁸

One is struck by a pattern of incongruity in other regards when juxtaposing Scripps' philosophy and the realities of his life and business. Scripps proclaimed his

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

¹⁶ "Life and Death of E. W. Scripps - Pioneer Genius of Free Press," *Editor and Publisher* (March 20, 1926), p. 6.

¹⁷ Knight, *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions*, p. 230.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

commitment to competition and public service, but his private business dealings at times contradicted the public message. He cultivated the image of a trustbuster even as he helped to pave the way toward newspaper monopolies. Although small two- and three-paper chains appeared in the 18th century, Scripps in the late 19th century launched the first extensive network of newspapers.¹⁹ In 1900, he had 10 papers linked by the Scripps name, the largest chain in the country; by 1911, the group included 25 dailies.

A blend of self-interest and public interest is reflected as well in his relationship with advertisers. His words, unsparing and unchanging over the years, make it clear that at some level he looked upon advertisers as his foe and an enemy of free and honest journalism; Knight contends that "advertising galled him so much that his dislike was almost obsessive."²⁰ Scripps took steps to ensure editorial independence by organizing his papers so that the editor, rather than business manager, oversaw the composing room and the final handling of every line of type that was published, whether news or advertising.²¹ Yet it is also true that the revenue advertisers provided significantly aided Scripps in forging his newspaper chain, a highly profitable one at that. As Charles McCabe put it, "All his life E. W. Scripps carried on a kind of guerilla [sic] warfare against his advertisers, the men who supplied most of the capital with which to put out his newspapers."²² Scripps saw no contradiction in his "trinity of rules for his editors,"²³ two of which were: always serve the interests of the poor and the

¹⁹ R. A. Schwarzlose, Newspapers: A Reference Guide (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987).

²⁰ Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions, p. 205.

²¹ Vance H. Trimble, The Astonishing Mr. Scripps: The Turbulent Life of America's Penny Press Lord (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1992).

²² Charles P. McCabe, Damned Old Crank: A Self-Portrait of E. W. Scripps Drawn From His Unpublished Writings (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. xii.

²³ *ibid.*, p. xv.

workers and always make a profit. Since his profits were dependent in large measure on advertisers, the implicit mandate was to serve the business sector as well. After his move to "Miramar" in the 1890s, Scripps often complained that his local editors and business managers resolved conflicts between profits and public interest in favor of advertisers and immediate earnings. To those who questioned the sincerity of his commitment to public service, he argued that his fortune reflected the success of his ideal, because people saw in his papers a steadfast ally and boosted circulation and revenues by becoming loyal subscribers.²⁴ Scripps made it clear that he was not opposed to advertising per se. He appreciated the role of advertising in stimulating trade and creating more jobs, and even in fostering a desire in people to better their lives in material ways.²⁵ What he found objectionable was the influence of advertising on editors and news coverage.

Scripps' Adless Vision

For years Scripps spoke of wanting to find a way to publish a profitable paper without ads. Scripps was willing to suffer some early financial losses with such an adless venture, but not subsidize it indefinitely; he expected his papers, all of them, to show 15 percent profit each year. He intended to try out the adless concept in founding the Chicago Press in April 1900, but when William R. Hearst rolled into town with a well-financed daily aimed at a similar audience, Scripps quickly and quietly folded the paper. With the start-up of the San Francisco News in 1903, he tested a middle-ground approach by limiting the paper to 10 columns of unsolicited ads. He expressed the

²⁴ See Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions.

²⁵ See Cochran, E.W. Scripps. Several chapters explore Scripps' view of advertising, including "The Adless Paper," "Principles and Methods," and "Scripps and McRae."

hope of eliminating all advertising in the paper eventually, but that was not to be. The earthquake and fire that wracked the city in 1906 turned the newspaper market topsy-turvy, and local managers, eager to pursue an available bonanza in ad sales, persuaded him to jettison the restrictions on space.

By 1904 Scripps thought he had just the person to lead an adless experiment – John Vandercook, editor of the organization's Cincinnati Post. Scripps set to planning for the paper, which was going to be based in New York. He told Vandercook to keep the paper highly secret, "as an inventor's secret."²⁶ In a letter posted Dec. 21, 1904, Vandercook told Scripps he should let someone else launch the adless paper, because Scripps would see his "other papers held hostage to the advertisers."²⁷ Scripps disagreed at the time, though when he did undertake the venture in 1911, he kept his name out of the masthead. Vandercook's top-notch qualifications as an editor indirectly scuttled this latest test of the adless concept. In 1906, Scripps bought Publishers Press, giving him a total of three wire services stretching across the nation. These he converted into a single wire service in 1907, United Press Association, a forerunner of United Press International, or UPI. Others in the organization pushed for Vandercook to serve as news manager for the wire service, and though Scripps protested because he said Vandercook was needed for the adless experiment, he gave the appointment his blessing, with the understanding that Vandercook would step aside after the operation was running smoothly and switch to the adless assignment. In April 1907, Scripps spent a whole day planning for the adless paper. The project came to an abrupt halt when Vandercook died of appendicitis in 1908.

²⁶ Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions, p. 208.

²⁷ Trimble, The Astonishing Mr. Scripps, p. 222.

Founding of The Day Book

After again surveying his stable of editors, Scripps picked Cochran, who was retiring from the Toledo (Ohio) News-Bee, as the best candidate for the adless project. Cochran was viewed as "the most courageous of all Scripps Ohio editors"²⁸ since the days when Scripps and Paine had personally led the charge. Scripps and Cochran commenced with formal planning for the adless paper in 1910. The Day Book was to be the full-fledged experiment – a penny tabloid dependent on circulation revenue alone. Scripps, who financed the project with income from a \$500,000 inheritance from his older half-brother George H., limited Cochran to a budget of \$2,500 per month, not including the cost of newsprint. Scripps also provided Cochran with a press that he personally owned. Scripps was the sole and exclusive owner of the adless paper; the plan was to incorporate The Day Book and fold it into the national organization when the paper started to turn profits. The circulation goal was 30,000, at which point Scripps calculated, The Day Book would be self-sustaining.

Cochran began publishing The Day Book on Sept. 28, 1911, with a small staff that at one time included Carl Sandburg as a reporter. The editorial, composing, circulation, stereotyping, and press departments were packed into a single room at 500 S. Peoria St. The Day Book, while using no more newsprint than a standard four-page paper, was folded in such a way as to create a mini newspaper of 32 pages, each page 8 7/8 inches by 6 1/8 inches. Cochran called it the first American experiment with the tabloid form, though it was smaller than the tabloid size that became standard for papers in the 1920s. The Day Book's small pages and large type were intended to make the paper as easy to hold and read on the streetcar as at home. Scripps was not

²⁸ Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions, p. 208.

keen on the paper's name, but he let it go. However, he was emphatic about who The Day Book would serve: "It shall always be the organ, the mouthpiece and the friend of wage-earners who get small wages, and of that class who are not working for wages but still maintain themselves by daily labor of the humblest sort."²⁹

The Day Book's News Coverage

The newspaper that looked like a small magazine read like one as well on its first day of publication. The Sept. 28, 1911, issue featured a fictional morality tale about a woman named Mary as its front-page story. As the story begins, she is 17 and already an experienced factory machinist. Her wages are a modest \$4 a week, for which she toils 10 hours every day. She walks to work and wears shoes donated by friends, saving all of her money to help support her mother. She strikes up a relationship with a neighbor, Tom Murray, agreeing to marry him. Mary's mother dies, and soon after she meets a more well-off man, Dick Kane, who promises her "clothes of the finest variety and expensive hats of the latest styles."³⁰ They elope. Not long into their high society life, Mary wearies of dressing for show and Dick becomes an abusive drunk. She flees their home and eventually supports herself and young daughter as a stenographer. Weeks pass before she discovers her new employer is Tom Murray, and the story ends with the promise of marriage. The headline ensures that the message is not missed: "Society Life Of Riches And Trouble Outdone By Simple Life And Happiness."

The rest of the issue contains a mix of condensed news and feature items.

²⁹ Cochran, E.W. Scripps, p. 126

³⁰ The Day Book, Sept. 28, 1911, p. 2

These include news briefs (e.g., "Ask Bread – Get Lead," about women in England and France marching for bread and being treated roughly by security forces); quotable quotes ("Some folks think that winter twilights begin early so as not to delay the poker game"); city briefs ("James Harvey, W. 52 street, threatened to kill howling dog next door. \$500 Peace bond."); telegraph briefs ("President Taft has proclaimed the American Red Cross the only authorized military and naval aid"); and household hints ("A little orris root tied in a muslin bag and placed in the water in which handkerchiefs are boiled will give them a faint and delicious scent of violets when ironed").

The next day's issue follows a similar format, with a fictional piece running on the first four pages, featuring Jennie Laughton, "as erect as a young pine tree, as fearless as a god, and as careless of wind or storm or rain as a stormy petrel." ³¹ The short of it is she is aboard a cargo steamer that sinks in rough seas, a seaman named John Bertram pulls her safely to a wooden spar, and their betrothal is sealed with a kiss that night as they wait to be rescued. Once again, the headline serves a didactic purpose: "John Bertram Thinks Of Suicide; But Decides On Marriage Instead."

In the third issue, on Sept. 30, the Day Book puts a hard news story on the cover: "Italy Sinks Two Turkish Ships; Hundreds Dead; Holy War May Involve All Europe." In this story, as in most, the author or news provider is unnamed. A local news story follows, presumably by someone on staff, about a house fire in Chicago that imperiled a family of eight. News continues to take precedence in this issue, with an account of railroad workers on strike and then city news briefs. Much of the rest of the issue consists of light reading, such as "Cynthia Grey's Many Answers" (analogous to "Dear Abby"), sports coverage, quotable quotes ("The man who loses the game is never accused of cheating"), and cooking tips.

³¹ The Day Book, Sept. 29, 1911, p. 1.

The next month shows Cochran continuing to experiment with the paper's handling of news. One day he runs two news stories without photos on the cover (one on the strife between Turkey and Italy, and the other on a railroad strike).³² Three days later a photo of a baseball catcher headed to the World Series takes up almost all of the front page.³³ Further tinkering lands "The World's News In Brief" on the front page, with a bizarre mixture of one- and two-line items, including "Tag! You're it." and "Chinese still revolting" and "Earthquake in Sicily. Vengeance of Allah?"³⁴

Scripps had encouraged experimenting with the content, but four months into the venture, he expressed his displeasure with the way things were going, telling Cochran the paper's coverage of strikes, politics, and the high cost of living amounts to "all uplift, argument, and scold" and "nothing to make him [the reader] laugh for the pure joy of being able to laugh or to appeal to common-place interests."³⁵ Scripps outlined the ideal format: 31 pages of light reading and one page of serious news and opinion.³⁶ There followed several newsless issues, resulting in a precipitous one-third drop in circulation.³⁷

Scripps orders a shift in course, this time ensuring that the paper carries a lot of news in the briefest form possible so that "readers should have known of everything of common interest that has occurred in the world as well as in the locals."³⁸ The increase in news items still leaves the paper lacking in Scripps' view. The missing ingredient, according to Scripps, is personality, so that the paper might reflect "an

³² *The Day Book*, Oct. 3, 1911.

³³ *The Day Book*, Oct. 6, 1911.

³⁴ *The Day Book*, Oct. 16, 1911.

³⁵ Scripps to Cochran, Jan. 30, 1912.

³⁶ Scripps to Cochran, Feb. 12, 1912.

³⁷ Knight, "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper," p. 60.

³⁸ Scripps to Cochran, May 17, 1912.

editor who had a message to deliver, a man whose single individuality as a thinker and a writer would force his paper into a conspicuous position."³⁹ After Cochran adds a column of his own opinions and observations, Scripps praises the turn toward personal journalism.⁴⁰ The next year he says the paper has become "a model production."⁴¹

Knight, whose Journalism Quarterly article on The Day Book includes several pages on the evolution of its content, states that the paper continued to exhibit "a strong sense of editorial direction" ⁴² in the ensuing years. The formula consisted of gripping news stories (such as a series in March 1914 on low wages paid to women, including the tale of a laundry worker who said she had been driven into prostitution to make ends meet); Cochran's "One Man's Opinion" column; sports coverage; news briefs; and odds and ends. But Knight contends the paper lost its momentum by 1917 and in its final months appeared as "a miniature newspaper with a bobtailed report, having nothing distinctive to offer in a highly competitive market." ⁴³

However, a more recent review of The Day Book suggests that Knight fails to give the mature paper its proper due. The paper ran some of its most probing news stories in 1917, especially at the start of the year. The intended beneficiaries in many of the stories were workers, as the paper called department stores to task for their low wages, poor benefits, and safety records. The chief target was Marshall Field, the largest department store in Chicago. A front-page story on Jan. 4 reported that Marshall Field earned record profits in 1916 and intimated that workers would share in

³⁹ Scripps to Cochran, Aug. 6, 1912.

⁴⁰ Scripps to Cochran, Feb. 27, 1913.

⁴¹ Scripps to Cochran, April 2, 1914.

⁴² Knight, "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper," p. 62.

⁴³ *ibid.*

the good fortune. But instead of receiving a Christmas bonus, workers had to settle for a letter of congratulations. The Day Book reprinted the company letter, which included this gushing tribute to Marshall Field employees: " 'There was more enterprise manifested in providing the merchandise, more foresight in planning the arrangements, more skill and promptness in serving customers, more efficiency in handling and delivering the goods, and fewer mistakes to be rectified.' " ⁴⁴ The letter went on to urge employees to focus their energies on the new year, " 'teeming with great and pleasant possibilities.' "

Two days later The Day Book printed an open letter to Marshall Field's president, John G. Shedd, signed by Cochran. In the letter, Cochran urged Shedd to face up to the store's mistreatment of its employees.

The splendid work, the planning, the buying, the selling, the handling, the delivering and all that you commend so highly was done by the employees. Marshall Field III and Henry Field, the polo-playing, society-buzzing, lazy-loafing heirs of old Marshall Field, didn't do a darned thing. They didn't plan, buy, sell, handle, deliver or anything else – yet they get most of the profit, and the employees get a sweet-scented letter urging them to do still better this year. ⁴⁵ Cochran told Shedd he may be rich and successful in business, but he is an old man and will die soon. Then he asked: " '[H]ow do you stand up before God just as a MAN?'" The only right course, Cochran told Shedd, would be to use his position and influence to see that the workers share in more of the profits.

In that same issue, The Day Book's cover story claimed that the city's department stores control news in the local papers. The three-deck headline read: "State St. Department Store News Killed by Trust Press." The unsigned article stated that many of the biggest stories "are born in the big department stores strewn along

⁴⁴ The Day Book, Jan. 4, 1917, p. 2.

⁴⁵ The Day Book, Jan. 6, 1917, p. 10.

State Street. But, as far as the Trust Press of the town is concerned, a great many of them also die in the big stores."⁴⁶ When strikes or elevator accidents occur in Marshall Field, Mandel Bros., The Fair, or other stores, the other papers ignore them so as not to offend the advertisers and jeopardize their revenue, the article asserted. Tooting its own horn, The Day Book said it is the only paper that consistently publishes all the news.

The Day Book then listed 25 news items that it said it covered in the prior month, almost all of which it said were ignored by the other papers. The list included: (Dec. 5) "Hartwig Wolfe, 4516 Prairie av., manager of The Hub, shot himself"; (Dec. 13) "Rob't Lee, 324 S. Washtenaw av., complained that he was fired from the Fair for signing petition asking better wages"; (Dec. 22) "The Fair, Hillman's and the Boston Store named by State Factory Inspector Nelson as worst in labor matters. Girls work long hours. Law dodged"; (Dec. 27) "Loeta Topping testified before Ill. industrial comm'n. Lost eye working for Siegel-Cooper & Co. when purple straw broke and flew into it"; (Dec. 30) "Fair store accused of not being fair by boy employe, who says they worked him 30 hours and paid him \$4"; (Jan. 4) "Christmas letter of Field store exposed"; and (Jan. 5) "Hillman's hit under two offenses of child labor law by State Factory Inspector Nelson."

The End of the Experiment

For this "laboratory experiment in journalism,"⁴⁷ Scripps calculated that the newspaper would be profitable once it achieved a circulation of 30,000. The Day Book

⁴⁶ The Day Book, Jan. 6, 1917, p. 1

⁴⁷ Cochran, E. W. Scripps, p. 132

began with a daily average circulation of 77 in October 1911; by June 1912, it was at 5,550. By 1915, Scripps was ebullient, with circulation at 20,000 and rising. Its all-time high was 22,839 in October 1916. But circulation took a hard fall the following month, when the subscription price went from one to two cents to compensate for the wartime increase in newsprint. Circulation went into a tailspin, dipping to 11,957 in June 1917, a drop of 4,009 over the first half of the year. The next month, on orders from Scripps, the paper closed. Though the Day Book never hit the 30,000 circulation target for covering its expenses, its losses had steadily declined over the years, and in January 1917 the paper even recorded a \$320 profit, its only month in the black.⁴⁸

Cochran says the paper was a victim of the war, which is what Scripps ostensibly held to be the cause. Scripps refers to steep increases in newsprint prices and a desire to have Cochran in Washington to help manage the organization's wartime newsgathering operation. But this straightforward interpretation belies Scripps' own confusion and ambivalence on the matter, as Knight points out. On the one hand, Scripps labels the experiment a success that proves an adless paper is practicable, especially in the hands of "a top-notch editor";⁴⁹ but he also acknowledges that an editor who could make a go of an adless daily would be "more valuable running a traditional newspaper."⁵⁰ Scripps also was weighed down by family matters (tension with his wife; his son John's death in 1914; and his daughter Nackey's elopement with Tom Meanley in 1916), all of which could have depleted his enthusiasm for the project. He also told Cochran that the two of them were too old to execute the adless vision successfully.⁵¹

⁴⁸ See Cochran, E. W. Scripps, "The Adless Newspaper" chapter, for a detailed breakdown of circulation and revenue figures.

⁴⁹ Knight, "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper," p. 64.

⁵⁰ Knight, I Protest: Selected Disquisitions, p. 209.

⁵¹ Scripps to Cochran, July 21, 1916.

Scripps envisioned a string of adless dailies stretching from Chicago to New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh, and though he did finance two adless ventures in Philadelphia and Washington, they were short-lived. He killed the Philadelphia News-Post in 1914 after two years. The Washington Daily News, founded by Scripps-Howard in 1921 as an adless 12-page, penny tabloid, soon after began accepting advertising. Might it be that these adless experiments were in fact legitimating moves, an attempt to boost the stock and mass appeal of the majority of Scripps' papers by publishing a few expressly for the benefit of readers? There is no direct evidence to support this interpretation, though it is clear that Scripps expected adless papers also would be reasonably profitable; he was not about to subsidize indefinitely an adless paper, however much in the public interest it may have been. As Cochran describes The Day Book's start-up, it appears to have been more an independent and good-faith experiment than a concealed bid to curry favor on the part of the Scripps organization. The paper was published without much fanfare, and with Cochran's name as both owner and publisher; Scripps' name did not appear at all, though in 1913 he agreed to let Cochran tell others it was Scripps' paper in verbal communication.⁵² The reason for keeping his financial backing hidden may have been that Scripps feared retaliation by advertisers in his other papers; Vandercook warned him of that risk in 1904.⁵³

Conclusion

As an adless daily, The Day Book aimed for a higher standard of editorial

⁵² Scripps to Cochran, Aug. 19, 1913

⁵³ Trimble, The Astonishing Mr. Scripps

independence than that held by the industry at large, by keeping advertisers at arm's length. An examination of The Day Book suggests that the paper in many respects did serve as "the organ, the mouthpiece and the friend of wage-earners who get small wages," as Scripps intended.⁵⁴ The paper early on experimented with different types of content before settling on a format that emphasized strong local news coverage and a crusading editorial voice. As an ally of the working class, the paper vigorously covered department stores and other businesses, with the clear intent of reminding these advertisers of their obligations in a democratic society, whether in paying fair wages or operating safe escalators.

Eighty years after its demise, this experiment in public-interest journalism appears all but absent in the standard texts of history. The Day Book may have been ignored because it challenged the myth that advertising helps to finance a successful and free press, or because it had a relatively brief run. Whatever the case, there are compelling reasons for taking a closer look at The Day Book, given the present state of the mass media. In the preface to his newly released fifth edition of The Media Monopoly, Bagdikian describes the "new communications cartel within the United States," consisting of 10 dominant corporations.⁵⁵ They possess an unprecedented power and ability to influence the political agenda and "socialize each new generation of Americans" through the control of words and images.⁵⁶ Perhaps most worrisome, in Bagdikian's view, is their grip on the lion's share of news and public affairs information. He argues that this media cartel is wholly driven by profits, and is operating largely without any sense of moral obligation and recognition of the public's need for non-commercial information. The pursuit of news has always been a

⁵⁴ Cochran, E. W. Scripps, p. 126.

⁵⁵ Bagdikian, Media Monopoly, p. ix.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

commercial enterprise, he notes, but traditionally attempts were made to separate the newsroom from the advertising department. The cartel, however, is prepared to breach that "church and state" wall as never before, in the service of advertisers.

This trend toward corporate concentration and heightened commercialism coincides with revolutionary changes in communication policies and technologies. The most visible sign of change has been the Internet, which has made possible global, interactive, inexpensive communication, with a distinctly grass-roots cast, at least in its early form. Given the Internet's far-flung reach and ability to link millions of people directly without having to go through privileged mediators such as TV networks and newspapers, this information web or network of roadways does have "vastly more potential as an engine of democratic communication" than earlier technologies such as broadcasting.⁵⁷

What remains to be seen is how much of that potential will be realized. The answer may well hinge on how communication policies address the tension between free-market, commercial interests and democracy in cyberspace. What is required is a set of policies that balance the current pro-market thrust with alternative policies that address the interests of citizens in being well-informed on all matters affecting their lives. Robert McChesney argues that if the Internet is to constitute a meaningful and effective public sphere, it must have a built-in institutional framework consisting of subsidized and independent journalism. He writes: "Although journalism per quo is justly criticized for its failures, mostly due to commercial constraints, journalism per se is indispensable to any notion of democracy worth the paper it is written on." ⁵⁸ To do its job, journalism must have resources to conduct research and provide

⁵⁷ Robert W. McChesney, "The Internet and U.S. Communication Policy-making in Historical and Critical Perspective," *Journal of Communication* 46 (Winter 1996) 98-124.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

contextualization without being beholden to commercial pressures. The Day Book demonstrated the kind of robust news coverage that is possible when commercial interests are kept at bay, and though it attempted to turn a profit without government subsidies, financial success proved elusive. Government funding or tax breaks could be just the incentive that is needed to encourage similar experiments in a more democratic form of journalism.

Edward H. Butler of the Buffalo News: The Ascent and Corruption
of a New Journalism Pioneer

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Edward H. Butler founded the Buffalo News in 1873, three years before Joseph Pulitzer bought the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and one year after the death of penny press pioneer James Gordon Bennett. The timing of his debut as an American newspaper publisher was apt, for Butler was at once the product of an older style of one-man journalism, an innovator of the socially inclusive New Journalism about to sweep America, and a progenitor of the modern corporate journalism that would dominate the twentieth century.

Working away from the limelight of Manhattan, Butler built a prototypical modern newspaper. The Buffalo News rejected the partisanship that underpinned Buffalo's press and to a large extent usurped the power of political partisans as it gained popularity and credibility among the lower and middle classes. As urbanization and wild population growth diminished the possibility of face-to-face market square politics in Buffalo, Butler effectively reconstituted a vital public forum in the pages of News, which because of its broad news focus and nonpartisan political agenda brought together readers of different classes, different ideologies, different outlooks.

Butler's News started its assault on political and journalistic convention in Buffalo by constructing bi-partisan election tickets and then, bolstered by increasing profits and resources, graduated to a sophisticated and hard-hitting programme of muckraking that laid bare the inadequacies of the

city's institutions and empowered reader-citizens to take a hand in running those institutions.

By the mid-1880s, the Buffalo News, which had started as a Sunday paper and went daily in 1880, was by far the largest, richest and most influential newspaper in Buffalo; indeed it was one of the most valuable newspaper properties in the United States outside of New York. The News' reform campaigns, crusades and exposes swelled the newspaper's readership, re-defining journalism in Buffalo and establishing Butler as an important player in municipal and state politics and commerce.

As the paper reached a zenith of innovation, profitability and social power, however, it faced a crisis. It had helped to bring about the destruction of one type of political and economic order - the party "ring" - but in the process had established itself at the center of a new order. In the mid-1880s, the paper began to move away from its working class constituency and align itself whole-heartedly with the new entrepreneurial and political leaders reshaping Buffalo, the state of New York, and the nation.

Butler debuted in Buffalo as a champion of the city's workers and the sworn enemy of the established press, which he referred to in editorials as "an incubus which holds down . . . free thought and independent action." But by century's end he would engineer collusive agreements to break unions and swell profits for all the city's newspapers. Virtually the sole defender of the city's workingmen during the Great Strike of 1877, Butler led the charge to oppress and break workers during a

nearly identical conflict in 1892.

Butler's development as a journalist and the myriad pressures, values and motivations that shaped the arc of his career provide a mirror of the development of modern journalism in the late nineteenth century. He is emblematic of a pivotal epoch in journalism history. Populist, democratic and fiercely independent in its early stages, the New Journalism that dominated American newspapering in the decades after the Civil War paradoxically transformed journalism into a political and economic behemoth.

The popularity of the New Journalism was rooted in an opposition to political and economic authority but gradually it became inextricably intertwined with a new version of that authority. By the time Butler died on the eve of World War I, he was just another wealthy newspaper proprietor, his days of distinction long past.

This paper provides an overarching but necessarily abbreviated portrait of the life and times of Edward H. Butler, an important but heretofore forgotten figure in the development of modern American journalism. I have synthesized the key episodes in Butler's career in order to trace his journey from populist reformer to financial titan, a journey he shared with the journalism of his age.

"A Typical Newspaperman"

On the day Edward H. Butler was buried in March, 1914, the

New York Times remembered him in a lengthy editorial that, given its warm and nostalgic tone, was likely penned by Times publisher Adolph Ochs himself, an old friend.

The editorial lauded Butler as "a newspaper man who seems actually to have been born to the calling in which, throughout a long and useful career, he found ample expression of his ideals, the exercise of public spirit, and the exertion of a large and beneficent influence in the community where he worked." The editorial noted that although Butler had toiled in Buffalo instead of New York City and had not won the fame he deserved, "his influence was appreciably exerted in the American newspaper world."

The homage concluded on a personal note: "All who remember him in his youth, when his own enthusiasm was so inspiring, must feel that his services received a most fitting reward in the success he achieved as editor and publisher." The Times farewell to Butler was entitled simply: "A Typical Newspaperman."

And, ironically, that was indeed what Butler had become in the last decades of his life. The ambitious 23-year-old reformer who came to Buffalo to start a newspaper in 1873, however, was hardly typical. Edward H. Butler was a maverick whose values and goals were fired in direct opposition to the prevailing norms of the politics and journalism of his day. Indeed, Butler was an important member of a movement that transformed journalism in the decades after the Civil War by rejecting political partisanship and patronage and asserting a bold and independent new role for

newspapers in American civic life.

Butler, whose father was an itinerant tenant farmer and preacher, founded the Buffalo Sunday Morning News in 1873 after a mercurial apprenticeship on the partisan newspapers of Pennsylvania's anthracite coal region. In 1880, he expanded his operations to seven days a week by founding the one-cent Buffalo Evening News, a paper that fully realized his vision for a cheap, dynamic newspaper for the masses. In its early years, The News was a fiercely independent advocate for Buffalo's citizens.

Butler's career spans a defining period in American journalism history. With a few notable exceptions -- primarily in New York -- the foremost objective of newspapers in most cities, towns and villages prior to the Civil War was to act as an instrument of political parties. These papers expressed their values and identities through editorials and political commentary and barely paid any attention at all to the events of everyday life. A new breed of newspaper publishers, however, rejected this narrow partisanship by offering readers information and sensation at low prices and depending upon advertisers, rather than political parties, to supply the profits.

These changing conditions called forth a new style of journalism and this New Journalism began to claim an unprecedented influence on social and political life in the 1870s and 1880s, opening new democratic possibilities for journalism and society at large. At the same time, journalism began to grow into a formidable economic institution whose central objective

was profit, not the nurturing of democracy or social justice.

Butler was an important pioneer of the New Journalism that arose in America after the Civil War, and his evolution as a journalist serves as an illuminating case study of how the power and wealth that the New Journalism created ultimately corrupted it.

The contradictions that beset journalism during its transition from partisan skill to large business enterprise are writ large in the Butler's life and times. A rebellious and independent progressive who crusaded on behalf of the disenfranchised of Buffalo during the first decade-and-a-half of his career, by 1890, Butler had become a leading voice of the city's entrenched interests.

By century's end, journalism was truly a big business and firmly in the hands of a new commercial elite. Edward H. Butler became an unabashed member of that elite, his time occupied with world travel, fancy dress balls at the Waldorf -- where he maintained a private suite -- and pleasant evenings spent with other American patricians in wood-panelled gentlemen's clubs in New York, Washington, Atlanta, Buffalo.

Originally he had boasted of the "manly independence" of his newspaper, but later he became a staunch Republican and an oft-mentioned candidate for state and national office. Butler also became the wealthiest and most influential publisher in Western New York; he was courted by both state and national politicians who sought support from that region. At the time of

his death, the Buffalo News dwarfed its rivals. The News, which passed out of his family's hands in the 1960s, is Buffalo's only remaining daily newspaper.

Butler entered Buffalo nearly penniless and found a newspaper field crowded with political and commercial journals that catered to a small elite. They could hardly be said to traffic in news at all -- at least not according to modern notions of news, notions men like Butler were busy inventing. Their front pages were slathered with small ads and official notices. Inside, they carried editorials, literary reviews and announcements. News was narrowly defined as the official acts of politicians or the political opinions of editors.

In the first decade and a half of the Buffalo News, Butler outstripped his competition, snaring mass readership with crisp, up-to-date news reports on crime, foreign affairs, politics, labor, and commerce, never sparing expense to acquire the technological means to do so. He introduced electric light to Buffalo and was the first publisher to make direct use of wireless telegraphy. While his career was firmly grounded in Buffalo, Butler's vision of journalism was expansive; he was a founding member of the United Press and his brother and business manager Ambrose founded the American Newspaper Publisher's Association.

Like other New Journalism mavericks, Butler was antagonistic towards the political parties. But opposing the political parties

hardly amounted to being apolitical. In fact, Butler and most of his innovative contemporaries were deeply political. Butler used his newspaper as a platform for reform in Buffalo and New York state. The Buffalo News gave voice to and spoke for the city's rising working and middle classes. The paper gave readers news, in the modern sense - not just opinions on partisan political matters, but information about the significant, tragic, mundane, bizarre, and humorous incidents of everyday life in Buffalo and elsewhere.

Historians have argued that politics was de-emphasized in the commercial press of the late 19th Century, but it would be much closer to the truth to say that politics was redefined by the upheavals of industrialization and that newspaper coverage reflected that change. Men like Butler and Pulitzer gave a revolutionary shape to journalism's new independent perspective by inventing new methods and a new style for journalism. It was a journalism built on facts, on exposure, on advocacy. Crusades on behalf of the impoverished may not have much resembled impassioned discourses on governmental policies but they were no less political in nature.

In fact, given that increased newspaper coverage of social life -- of police courts, neighborhoods, nascent labor unions -- gave readers broader social and political contexts for their lives, it can be argued that the independent press was even more political than the partisan press. By turning their attention to the currents of social life, by conceiving of news as an omnibus

of human experience, newspapers were recognizing the fact that the activities of daily life were by nature political.

Inquiring, critical, sociological journalism, instead of acting as a mere transmitter for political elites, held those elites and their functionaries to account and showed readers how abstract political maneuverings played out in people's lives. Likewise, the commercial nature of the press of the late nineteenth century caused fundamental changes in the press' perception of itself and its role in the community.

In Buffalo, left to cadge for profits without the largess of party patronage, Butler built the News into a formidable financial machine, introducing the same organizational techniques at his newspaper that were transforming banking and manufacturing. Butler's newspaper very quickly became not only Buffalo's most widely read newspaper, but its most profitable as well. The newspaper that Butler started for less than \$1,000 in 1873 was worth millions by the 1890s. Whatever political and moral dimensions it possessed, news was also a commodity for sale.

Foremost, during its first years, the News was Buffalo's conscience and chief agitator. Its readership was akin to a constituency and in its pages the newspaper reflected the lives, fears, and interests of those who heretofore had been left outside the closed circuit of partisan rule -- the workingmen, the shopkeepers, the fledgling entrepreneurs, of which Butler was one.

The Buffalo Sunday Morning News found ample readership in the mid-1870s by offering information from around the city and around the world. It also engaged the partisan journals in combat on its editorial page. But in its infancy the newspaper was largely a one-man show; Butler and a few editors collected the news, wrote it, ran it through the press and even delivered papers. The paper was sold in the streets for five cents and advertising revenue came slowly despite its rapidly-increasing readership. There was no party patronage or municipal largess to carry it through the hard times. Butler would have to open his fight for a new journalism in Buffalo as cheaply as possible.

Without the money to hire a large staff of reporters, Butler kept those he did have busy scouring the city for news. At the same time, he made innovative use of his editorial page and political columns to inspire the loyalty of his readers and strike at the party rings that ran the city government. Without the means to found his own party or run his own candidates, Butler decided instead to turn partisanship against itself. As the election of 1874 approached, he redefined his 10,000 readers as "10,000 Honest Voters," who should "respond to the first earnest attempt to break the bonds of political serfdom" by supporting a Bi-partisan ticket endorsed by the News. By endorsing candidates from both parties, the News ensured that neither party could gain exclusive control over the city and that candidates would have to reach beyond party regulars to find the votes needed to win.

The News' "People's Ticket" carried the election and made the parties take heed of the city's independent voters and disenfranchised citizens. The News made clear the bi-partisan campaign was only a first step towards redefining civic government: "We desire to see the ring rule destroyed, we desire to see honest men elected by the people, and held responsible to them, and not to a party or clique of men. We desire to witness a purging of the mere partisan, and a healthier tone given to the politics of the city, State, and nation."

The People's Ticket demonstrated that Butler's News had a constituency, not just a readership. Success at the polls elevated that constituency and the newspaper to powerful new roles in city life. The prestige, increased readership and advertising revenue the campaign spawned would pay for the next step in the News' development: The creation of a modern newsgathering operation that would force civic change through exposure rather than mere exhortation.

As the News found its identity, and the size and loyalty of its readership grew, Butler found more aggressive methods of exploring and guiding social, civic and political affairs on behalf of readers. He did so in a new vehicle, The Buffalo Evening News, launched in October of 1880. The new seven-day News quickly came to dominate the daily market and introduced modern, factual daily journalism to Buffalo at the expense of its stodgy partisan rivals.

The first and most important campaign undertaken by the

Evening News was a crusade to aid impoverished Polish immigrants. It was an even more radical approach to politics than the People's Ticket. The crusade spanned the summer of 1881 and used aggressive reporting, facts, and vivid writing to move both readers and the city government to accept responsibility for a problem both considered utterly beyond their ken.

Polish immigrants lured to America by dreams of wealth and opportunity swarmed into Buffalo and other cities along the railroad line in 1881. By the summer, immigrants were packed into tenements south of Buffalo's downtown. They spoke little english and could not find jobs. Meanwhile, they began to fall ill and die from malnutrition and disease as landlords took what little money they had as rent for the terrible tenements they inhabited.

The Poles were viewed with suspicion and disdain by Buffalo's residents, especially more established immigrants. The city's workers clearly saw the newcomers' potential as wagebreakers. Since the immigrants did not vote or hold any sort of political leverage, the city's politicians showed no interest in helping them. Most of Buffalo's citizens, if they cared about the problem at all, simply wished the Poles would move on.

Setting itself in opposition to the city government, the churches, the workingmens' associations -- and to a large extent its own readers -- the Buffalo News courageously took up the Poles' cause. It's attack was three-pronged: Force readers to recognize the immigrants humanity by printing stark, vivid

accounts of the suffering in the tenements; expose the corruption and inaction of the city government; implore both readers and officials to act either out of compassion or practicality (for the diseases spawned in the Polish slums could spread elsewhere).

The crusade was successful. Workingmens' associations rallied to the Poles' cause and the city government allocated funds to build sanitary housing for the new arrivals. As a result of the crusade, the News claimed an ever bigger role for itself as civic arbiter, speaking as it did to all of the city's various constituencies because of its broad circulation, and forced government to redefine its responsibilities for civic management.

The groundbreaking expose on conditions in Buffalo's Polish tenement houses was marked by the same attention to detail, graphic style and moralistic zeal that would characterize Pulitzer's New York World when it debuted two years later. The stark, factual accounts News' reporters wrote about conditions in Polish slums are surely comparable with other fine writing of that genre. Here are two representative passages:

In the same house at this moment
40 persons exist, and six children
are lying at the point of death,
and close behind them a woman, with
scarcely enough clothes to cover her,
tosses about on the floor in a high
fever.

A News reporter visited the house this morning, and upon entering was nearly stifled by the foul air that pervaded the place.

In a dark room he found a sight that was terrible to behold, and which ought to shame the many 'noble and philanthropic' charity societies in our midst In one corner lay a dirty babe upon the floor with a pillow for a bed. Its thin little arms were thrown languidly and wearily across its breast.

The Polish crusade emboldened the News to use the techniques of New Journalism to attack civic corruption, poor health services and other social ills, many of which were caused by the bewildering and rapid changes in society. The success of the New Journalism in Buffalo as elsewhere rested upon aggressive news coverage, a progressive vision of social justice in an age of unfathomable disparity between rich and poor, and a populism that enshrined the sensibilities and interests of the "common man."

The Buffalo News flourished because it spoke to and for the masses of Buffalo. Their enemies were Butler's enemies: the

established political rings that resisted reform and seemed oblivious to the impending crises that immigration, class divisions and new economic arrangements were bringing to the city; the partisan press which was enraptured by its insular community and occupied itself with pontificating on the fortunes and foibles of local politicians; the old economic guard which failed to seize on Buffalo's promise as a terminus in a rapidly expanding and increasingly interdependent national economy.

Before mass audiences could coalesce, papers like the News had to build a relationship with them, a bond of trust. An important characteristic of the New Journalism was its emphasis on the experiences and interests of the masses, and its advocacy on behalf of those masses. In Buffalo, Butler championed the city's common people and won their devotion in return.

Nationally, the New Journalists of the postwar period mapped out new territory for journalism and opened up a vital and democratic window between an age when political elites controlled the press and an age when a new economic elite would come to rule the press. Gerald Baldasty argues that mid-19th Century editors "defined news as a political instrument intended to promote party interests. By century's end, editors defined news within a business context to insure or increase revenues."

One historian has gently termed this critical shift in journalism - and democracy - as "the period of financial readjustment." But the rapid transformation of journalism from partisan megaphone to corporate enterprise was not so smooth or

calculated as that description suggests. For Butler and the News, the change contained two phases - erstwhile independence and democratic action, and later rapid absorption into a new elite they had helped to create.

The notion that there was a clean fissure between party control and advertiser control assumes that the primary motivation of newspaper publishers was always financial. Surely some of these men could have found easier profits in other endeavors. Many of the first "independent" journalists were former party editors and their identities were firmly rooted in public life, with all of the obligations and opportunities that implied. Pulitzer, Butler, Samuel Bowles, Melville Stone. All were men with intimate ties to party and politics in their past, men for whom political progress surely balanced whatever lust they had for personal gain.

In fact, between the period when publishers saw readers primarily as voters and the period when they saw them primarily as customers, they saw them first and foremost as constituencies. Unshackled from the parties, it is absurd to think that strong-willed publishers would turn over their new found power to advertisers in one fell swoop. In Buffalo, for instance, the base of advertisers was large and diverse. No one advertiser could hope to coerce or bribe the paper into doing its bidding. Not until the dawn of regional and national retail consolidation could one company wield significant influence over newspapers.

The switch to a more commercially based, independent

journalism began before the Civil War in New York City, and indeed most historical analyses of the press have documented the development of the press there. But movements in journalism and other social institutions in New York -- then as now America's least typical city -- did not often reflect the reality of other American communities like Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Buffalo.

Understanding the development of "lesser" cities and their press is crucial to understanding the historical forces that shaped the lives of people living outside of the great metropolis. The tendency to collapse the history of journalism into the exceptional milieu of New York City and the endeavors of a few giant figures like Pulitzer, James Gordon Bennett and Adolph Ochs not only obscures the varieties of journalistic development elsewhere, it also retards a deeper understanding of the development of journalism as a national institution. Pivotal changes in journalism arose from a mosaic of efforts and experiments among a wide variety of journalists rather than being "invented" by any individual.

The proposition offered by Frank Luther Mott and repeated endlessly ever since was that "New Journalism" was born fully formed in Pulitzer's World. "No wonder newspaper publishers elsewhere studied the World and imitated its policies until a new journalism grew out them," Mott wrote.

New journalism may indeed have reached its zenith and fullest expression in the World, but Butler was employing the

techniques of new journalism before either the Post-Dispatch or World appeared on the scene - as were other publishers, notably Joseph McCullough from whose St. Louis Globe-Democrat Pulitzer learned much about "new" journalism.

Like the Buffalo News, founded a year later, the Globe-Democrat quickly routed its city's partisan press because it employed a style that "emphasized the paper as a vehicle of news rather than opinion [and] attracted a reading public hitherto neglected, the great mass of shopkeepers, clerks and workers of the rising urban communities." Sadly, the fixation on and continual re-exploration of the giants of journalism has crowded out other voices from this epoch.

In any case, the texture of New Journalism changed as the newspapers that practiced it grew ever more powerful and prosperous. Like a doppelganger, big money closely tracked the showy idealism of early New Journalism. Soon it would emerge from the shadows.

Butler's life and career offer insight not only into the heady rebellion against partisanship but into the later absorption of the press by the big money of commercialism. As the Buffalo News reached financial stability and then dominance in the mid-1880s, Butler's reform spirit began to evaporate. And just as his own personal circumstances had shaped the fighting newspaper of his struggling days, so his new circumstances as a member of the city's elite shaped a newspaper dedicated to serving new interests.

After the mid 1880s, Butler dedicated himself to building an ever more efficient and profitable corporation. The growth of newspapers not only put them in closer financial contact with conservative economic institutions, it made them similar to those institutions. As the News grew, Butler's payroll swelled and the demand for more office space and faster presses occupied his time and energy.

The bigger the News grew, the more rigid and more formal it became in its relationships with its readers. For instance, in its early years, readers, labor leaders and gadflies were all encouraged to contribute news items. The early News was like a grand, rowdy public argument. The routinization and bureaucratization of news, however, served to constrict its usefulness as a vehicle of inclusive discourse.

Profits and the drive to beat out competitors led to the creation of a large and skilled editorial staff. By 1885 professionalism was the watchword at the News. When a non-employee did contribute a news item, editors were under strict orders to "put it into shape" so that it fit the style and sensibility of the News. Similarly, technology increased the geographic and temporal reach of reporters, but also narrowed their efforts. Butler wrote copious memos in the 1890s urging his reporters to rely less on the telephone and get out of the office to gather news, but he also urged them to produce more copy. Obviously, in the 1890s, only the wealthy and powerful were likely to have telephones.

Technology was also meant to awe Buffalo's average citizens. The long distance telephone and the stenographer who operated it were put on display in large glass booth at the News building. Layers of editors and reporters, bureaucratic routines, new professional definitions of news, and distancing technologies all served to insulate Butler -- and the News -- from the realities of Buffalo's average citizens.

In his personal life, Butler went about enjoying the fruits of his labor, immersing himself in the changing seasons of society and European travel. By the mid-1880s, as social tensions increased in the United States and clashes between capital and labor grew more violent, Buffalo's common people - the source of his wealth - were also a threat to his wealth.

These threats were not remote. It had been easy, for instance, to support workingmen when Butler, too, labored independently to produce his newspaper. But as the twentieth century approached, workingmens' associations had evolved into powerful labor unions which were asserting their influence at all levels of industry - including journalism, and including the Buffalo News.

So furious was Butler at the incursion of labor into his shop that in 1901 he sparked the creation of the Association of Newspapers of Buffalo, whose members promised to aid each other in the event of selective strikes. Butler was now the leader of the city press, the "incubus" he had once promised to vanquish, and the foe of the workers to whom he had once offered

comradeship.

The transformation of Butler is seen clearly in his reaction to the two great strikes that shaped the latter half of the nineteenth century. When the military was called out to quash striking steel and railroad workers during the Great Strike of 1877, Butler did more than simply side with the workers on issues like safety and wages. Instead, he criticized the political and economic inequities in American life that allowed companies to use the military to oppress workers.

In the wake of the strike, he opened his columns to labor leaders and expanded his innovative "Labor Column" to guide them in a quest for justice. In editorials, he urged Buffalo's workers to "strike at the ballot box," to "shake both parties," to seize the machinery of civic life for their own.

When labor violence spread up the Baltimore and Ohio line in 1892, however, the wealthy and propertied Butler ran a newspaper bedeviled by union demands and tied economically to Buffalo's leading industries. Not surprisingly, his interpretation of the second strike was markedly different than to the first: "It is not a struggle between capital and labor at all," he wrote in an editorial, "but between anarchy and law." Butler led the call for the intervention of the National Guard, a call that was heeded and led to the breaking of the strike.

Butler's changed personal circumstances also reshaped his outlook. Ironically, as Butler accumulated prestige and influence in his community, he spent less time there. While he frequently

telegraphed editors to instruct them to take certain editorial positions, or to upbraid his reporters for "palavering," Butler spent much of the last 15 years of his life in New York, at a second home in Darlington, S.C., and in Europe. Widowed and lonely, he drifted between friends and clubs, filling his time with endless banquets, automobile excursions and transatlantic voyages. He grew nostalgic for the uncertain but exhilarating days of his youth.

Like other driven men who found success in the Gilded Age, Edward H. Butler discovered that having was not as satisfying as getting. He grew morose and gloomy and often ruminated on the personal emptiness he felt amid the splendor he had created for himself.

During his final years, he wrote several wistful letters to close friends Clark Howell, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and Henry Watterson, the legendary editor of the Louisville Courier. Butler envied Howell for remarrying after his wife died. "You did the wisest thing in your life when you married the second time," he wrote his friend. "I have been a widower 14 years and now I begin to feel . . . that I will be left entirely alone. It is a horrible thought for there are some things that money cannot buy."

Personal happiness eluded him, but the aging Butler also seemed to acknowledge that his professional prime had long-since passed and that his fame would not outlive him. He wrote to Watterson: "Marse Henry . . . we marvel to hear your latest and

best and what the next will be. I wish I were near you if only for a little while for inspiration." Butler's passion had faded away and he admired men who had kept their flames alive. When his friend Joseph Pulitzer died, Butler was asked to write a eulogy for the World. "I have known Mr. Pulitzer thirty five years and I read the World everyday and I have often wondered how this white heat could be kept up," he wrote.

In the end, Ochs was right to call Butler a "typical newspaperman." The temptations of wealth had inexorably drawn him away from the maverick's path, just as the immense profits that sprung up around American journalism delivered it, as an institution, squarely into the hands of big business.

Paradoxically, Butler's very success in representing the interests of Buffalo's common people was what ultimately plotted his trajectory away from them. High circulation, the riches of advertising and a dedicated readership ultimately gave Butler what his core readers did not have - great wealth, political power, influence. Only an ill advised feud with Theodore Roosevelt kept Butler from being appointed to the Senate in 1908.

The mature Butler's allegiance to the Republican Party was matched only by his allegiance to capitalism. As he found his voice in the early days of the Buffalo News, Butler had railed mercilessly against the "low scums, unprincipled and dishonest" who edited "obsolete" political papers for venal party ends and personal gain. Within two decades, however, Butler was

imploing his colleagues in the newspaper business to eschew public service in favor of higher profits, and the critics be damned.

Mocking what he sarcastically called "the loftier mission of the press," Butler told his fellow publishers at a New York Publishers Association convention in 1892 that a newspaper was merely "a business as well as conducting a dry goods store, grocery or a railroad, and like those enterprises a business conducted mainly for profit." The age of New Journalism had ended in Buffalo.

Epilogue

On the occasion of Edward H. Butler's death, the News observed that "other men have risen to a great success but made their beginning on the foundation laid by others, and the combination of first class man of business and first class editor is so rare as to make the journalistic success of Mr. Butler a thing that stands out by itself in at least the recent history of newspapers."

"Such names as Bennett and Greeley are recalled," Butler's obituary continued, "and great as they were in their respective fields both Bennett and Greeley were more remarkable as editors than as men of business and Greeley in particular was exceedingly weak in that development."

Being both a "first class editor" with a social conscience

and a "first class man of business" was a proposition fraught with contradictions. As the conflict between those roles grew, Butler resolved it by choosing to be a man of business. As an institution, journalism, too, chose the path of business. By the early 1900s, one-time newspaper crusaders would find themselves the targets of magazine muckrakers out to denounce America's corrupt institutions, as in Will Irwin's piece for Collier's, *The American Newspaper*.

Ultimately, "independence" from political parties did not mean absolute freedom for American newspapers. The newspapers that forged a new economic partnership with advertisers seeking to market goods to mass audiences eventually found that they were quite as dependent on advertising revenues, favorable market conditions and public tastes as their forbearers once had been on party patronage.

The period between political domination and commercial domination of the nation's press, however, was a period of experimentation, innovation, high ideals, and inestimable public service. The journalists and newspapers that defined this era created an open and vigorous public forum. Edward H. Butler's *Buffalo News* was one of them. It was a too-brief age in which the enduring values of modern journalism were first and most vividly articulated: enterprise, social justice, a voice for the voiceless, independence from vested interests, the courage - or arrogance - to try to tell the truth. Sadly, it can be argued that those values have never been so fully honored since.

and its editorial staff has shrunk under his ownership.

¹¹A direct telegraph line was installed at the Sunday Morning News in 1880. When he erected a new building after the introduction of the Evening News, Butler had it electrically wired and installed a huge electric light that, not coincidentally, brought crowds to the newspaper offices. Lee, unpublished history of the Buffalo News, circa 1930.

¹²Ambrose Butler proposed the idea of a cooperative organization for newspaper publishers in 1886. The Fourth Estate, October 1909, p. 27.

¹³For instance, McGerr argues that the appearance of cheap, popular newspapers defused political energy by transforming politics into a topic for coverage rather than activity in which citizens participated. Michael McGerr, The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986)

¹⁴Like other businessmen of his day, Butler did not make sharp distinctions between his personal and business assets. In addition, he had passed on some of the newspaper's assets to his son prior to his death, so its exact worth is hard to estimate. An appraisal made after his death put his personal worth at about \$1.6 million, and his share of the newspaper at about \$1 million. Appraisal filed in Surrogate's Court, Erie County, N.Y. Appraisal of Butler estate made upon his death in 1914, Butler papers at State University College at Buffalo (SUCB).

¹⁵The Sunday Morning News was born of a \$400 grubsteak Butler and a short-lived partner brought from Scranton after leaving a newspaper there in 1872. While no records exist, they surely borrowed heavily to finance their venture. Even the Evening News was capitalized at a mere \$9,000 in 1880. (The \$400 figure comes from several biographical sketches penned by Butler or staff members. The 1880 figure is from the Buffalo Industrial Census of that year.)

¹⁶The circulation of the paper reached 10,000 - double its nearest rival - within six months of its founding. A.H. Kirchofer, unpublished history of the Buffalo Evening News, chapter 4, p. 18, Butler papers at SUCB.

¹⁷Buffalo Sunday Morning News, October 25, 1874, p. 1.

¹⁸ibid.

¹⁹By the mid-1880s, the circulation of the Buffalo News grew to 40,000. It would reach 100,000 - in a metropolitan area of 350,000 by the turn of the century. Circulation figures gleaned

Notes

¹Bennett was both a symbol of the age of "personal journalism" -- whose publishers dominated every facet of their newspapers -- and an early architect of corporate journalism, who began the work of rationalizing newswork and compartmentalizing newspapers. One of the first important editors to reject partisanship and aim his newspaper at the masses, his New York Herald cannot be said to have a coherent program for social change. Pulitzer, of course, was a giant of New Journalism and the builder of one of the first and most lucrative American newspaper empires.

²Butler often boasted in editorials and letters that his was the "biggest newspaper between New York and Chicago" and "one of the best newspaper properties in the country. A few months after the launching the Evening News, the Scripps brothers started a newsy rival, the Telegraph, in Buffalo. Butler vanquished the Scripps' and they sold their name and their lists to Butler in 1885, having lost, Butler claimed, \$70,000 on their venture. "The City of Buffalo," Buffalo News commemorative booklet, 1887, p. 31.

³Buffalo Sunday Morning News, July 31, 1875, p. 1.

⁴"A Typical Newspaper Man," New York Times, March 11, 1914, p. 10.

⁵ibid.

⁶ibid.

⁷ibid.

⁸In his study of the rise of commercialization in the press, Gerald Baldasty observes that "partisan editors viewed their readers as voters [and] geared their content to such an audience." By 1900, "publishers saw their readers not only as voters but as consumers, so they produced content that went far beyond the world of politics and voting." News was becoming a commodity at the very instant it was becoming a potent tool for social change. Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) p. 5

⁹In addition, Butler served twice as a delegate to Republican Conventions, was a member of the Electoral College, sat on the board of Buffalo's Grosvenor Library and headed a commission to build a monument in the wake of President McKinley's assassination in Buffalo. Perry Smith, History of Buffalo, p. 47.

¹⁰The Buffalo News Corporation is now the property of Warren Buffet's Blue Chip Stocks corporation; its profits have increased

from certified audits published in various copies of the newspaper.

²⁰Buffalo's population grew from 100,000 to 255,000 between 1873 and 1880. Immigrants accounted for much of the growth and the Polish accounted for most of the immigrants. The city went from having a modest Polish neighborhood in the 1870s, to having the third largest Polish population in the U.S. by 1880, trailing only Chicago and Milwaukee. Horton, et.al., History of Northwestern New York, p. 319.

²¹The News helped to organize meetings of workers to discuss the situation, and then covered the meetings. "What the Workingmen Say," Buffalo News, June 23, 1881, p. 1.

²²While Pulitzer is rightly regarded as the "father of the crusade" he did not literally invent the technique. In addition, while he is often remembered for his efforts on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised, his first crusades in St. Louis "were not focused on the problems of the poor and working classes, but on those of the middle class and the small business people with whom the publisher associated." Emery and Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992) 171-172.

²³Crusades, as the name implies, created strong moral frames for their factual narratives. The News Polish crusade was no different, as can be gathered from the prose style and the headlines. "The City's Disgrace," Buffalo News, June 15, 1881, p.1.

²⁴"Buffalo's Shame," Buffalo News, June 16, 1881, p.1.

²⁵Gerald Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) p. 4.

²⁶James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism (1924).

²⁷In addition, American newspapers in 1880 derived only about half of their revenue from advertising; by 1910, advertising accounted for about two-thirds of all revenue. Emery and Emery, p. 185.

²⁸Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History (New York: MacMillan, 1962) p. 436.

²⁹Julian S. Rammelkamp, Pulitzer's Post and Dispatch, 1878-1883 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967) p. 35.

³⁰See, e.g., "City Editor Morse, June 23, 1881, Buffalo papers

at SUCB.

³¹Memo to City Editor Saunders, undated, Butler papers at SUCB.

³²Butler had an absolute mania for new technologies and prided himself with being the first to implement new devices at the News. The role of technology in making the News and other newspapers less accessible and democratic is, alas, another paper entirely.

³³Articles of Incorporation, Association of Newspapers of Buffalo, Butler papers at SUCB.

³⁴The "Labor Column" first appeared in early editions of the Sunday Morning News. The column sometimes consisted of Butler's views on labor issues, but more often was given over to a local labor leader, who might offer commentary or call workers to rally behind some particular issue. By the mid-1880s, the Labor Column was appearing less frequently and usually contained observations or analysis from a News editor or staff writer. It was no longer a platform for labor to persuade or plan.

³⁵"Workingmen: The Class That Might Hold the Balance of Power," Buffalo Sunday Morning News, Sept. 2, 1877, p. 1.

³⁶"One Lesson of the Strike" (editorial) Buffalo News, August 26, 1892, p. 1.

³⁷A 1907 memo from Butler "To All Reporters," urged them to write tight clean copy and "less Mother Hubbard stuff." Butler papers at SUCB.

³⁸Typed draft of Butler's eulogy for the World, Butler papers at SUCB.

³⁹Although he was urged by many politicians and newspapers -- including the New York World -- to nominate Butler for a vacant Senate seat, Roosevelt instead chose Elihu Root because Butler's support of his candidacy and policies was less than enthusiastic.

⁴⁰Editorial, Buffalo Sunday Morning News, July 31, 1875, p. 1.

⁴¹Butler speech to New York Publisher's Association, July 13, 1882, Butler papers at SUCB.

⁴²"E.H. Butler," editorial in the Evening News, March 14, 1914.

"Selling Cable Television in the 1970s and 1980s:
Social Dreams and Business Schemes"

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Introduction

Development of the cable television industry included two phases of promotion. The first phase, which culminated in 1972, with the FCC's Third Report and Order, involved an attempt to expand the availability of broadcasting content and services, to provide a television of "abundance" rather than the scarcity of the electromagnetic spectrum. This phase of cable development came as the cable industry was attempting to establish legitimacy in competition with television broadcasting. While supporters of cable television argued that cable could provide more television than broadcast television could provide, an undercurrent of this argument was that cable also would provide the platform for an information revolution with narrowcasting and with two-way services. Public-access cable television had offered one alternative, but even the FCC's access requirements in the Third Report and Order failed to overcome limited and sometimes inadequate use of the opportunities.¹ With the Midwest Video II decision in 1979, supporters of greater public access to mass media sought alternatives to broadcasting through interactive services including two-way cable television.² With the rush for urban franchises in the 1980s, these arguments took on a new urgency. Cable television executives indicated that every city needed interactive services as well as greater channel capacity to prosper in a new "information age." This paper will examine these two phases of cable television development in the United States, the changing communications environment and regulatory climate of the 1970s and 1980s, suggestions that communication technology, specifically cable television, could address social problems of the day, and how these suggestions affected communication policy-making. Such promotion of cable television parallel contentions now that computer-based interactive services provide opportunities to address social needs of this era and are helping to guide efforts to develop government policies that promote the installation and use of these computer services.

Background

The late 1960s and early 1970s were a period of high expectations for an "information revolution" because of the development of cable television and other computer and communication advances. The cable industry as well as government and public-interest groups joined in elevating

expectations for the still new medium.³ These expectations came at a time of social unrest in the country and reflected earlier expectations of the role that a new communications medium could play in improving society.⁴ Although "community antenna television" (CATV) began as a means to bring television signals to areas unable to receive such signals because of distance from broadcasting centers or unfavorable terrain features, supporters of cable television promoted the greater channel capacity that cable offered over broadcasting, the possibilities of "narrowcasting" to audiences with specific interests or needs, and the prospect of using two-way cable television to provide interactive services through which viewers could make entertainment choices or shopping decisions or express political views. Expectations for this "information revolution" included more than new electronic toys. Goals of public-interest support for cable television included reconstitution of community, revitalization of democracy, and increased access to communication resources for minority and disadvantaged groups. Proposed was a two-tier delivery system of cable television services with a lower tier of community programming and an upper tier of delivery of broadcast entertainment and information.⁵

Although the FCC in 1966 essentially froze cable system expansion into urban areas, events as diverse as riots in the streets of those urban areas and Neil Armstrong's first steps on the Moon helped to create interest in new communications technology. The lunar mission in 1969 provided an example of technological success and of the rapid pace of technological change. Editors of Science and Technology magazine in April 1968 devoted the entire issue to the coming "communication revolution." Associate Editor Charles J. Lynch noted effects of such a revolution: "Anything that can dramatically change the means of communication has potential for making great changes in our society."⁶

Alvin Toffler in 1970 introduced the term "future shock" into the US vernacular with the warning that rapid technological changes were creating psychological and social dislocations, and he advised that technological counter-measures could forestall dire effects of such dislocations.⁷ Sociologist Daniel Bell,⁸ political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski,⁹ and others¹⁰ advised that the world was entering a new economic era as different from the industrial era as that era was from the

preceding agrarian era. The currency of the new era would be information, and the storage, retrieval, and transmission of information would be the principal occupations of the new day. Marriage of computer and telephone technologies would help to create the "communications revolution."¹¹ The National Academy of Engineering's Committee on Telecommunications in 1969 issued a report that listed sixteen technologies, including cable television, that could help to provide solutions to urban problems.¹² Proponents of cable television saw not only the technological possibilities of the use of coaxial cable but also their applications to social problems.

Racial unrest that had helped to fuel urban riots in the 1960s brought questions about the role of the mass media in urban areas and the access of minorities to the media. In its report on civil disorders, the Kerner Commission did not fault news coverage of the riots but questioned media attention to minorities and urban areas.¹³ The Kerner Commission reported that the mass media had failed to portray adequately the problems of minorities: "The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance are seldom conveyed."¹⁴ In the report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy, the Rostow panel promoted cable television to increase access to the communications media and to increase the diversity of television offerings.¹⁵ The report indicated that the programming for a broad audience might not meet the needs of minority groups: "Additional television channels and facilities dedicated to their problems, and to the expression of their concerns, talents, and sensibilities are of critical importance to the most fundamental of our national policies – the fulfillment of our commitment to achieve for disadvantaged minorities equality of opportunity and the full enjoyment of American life."¹⁶ The FCC in its 1970 notice of proposed rule-making on cable television regulations indicated that cable television capabilities could help to reconstitute community.¹⁷ In its 1974 final report, the Cabinet Committee on Cable Communications also foresaw a revitalization of democracy and reconstitution of community: "Rather than increase the alienation of individual from individual and group from group, cable could combine the shared experience of national television with a type of active participation in the political and social progress that was common in the days before

urbanization eroded the opportunity for personal involvement in events that affected the community."¹⁸

The Access Movement

Cable television became a factor in promotion of an access movement that took several forms. Legal scholar Jerome A. Barron sought to expand the notion of the "fairness doctrine" to all mass media to provide a right of reply.¹⁹ Also of concern was provision of public access channels, so all citizens would have the opportunity to present their ideas and interests on cable television. Royal D. Colle, in the early 1960s, noted that cable television could provide highly specialized local programming.²⁰ Colle contended that community programming would meet FCC goals of increased local expression on television: "[T]he burgeoning CATV industry could be a complement to the highly centralized programming offered over broadcast television stations – it could truly be television at the grassroots."²¹ Helping to generate interest in community-access television was Sony's introduction, in 1968, of the first video camera and recorder unit.²² Experiments in community access began, in the early 1970s, at public television stations in Boston, San Francisco, and New York. In 1971, a \$500,000 grant from the Markle Foundation helped to establish the Alternate Media Center at New York University, which became a focal point for development of community television.²³ Public access programming began in Manhattan in 1971, and foundation grants also went to organizations, such as the Alternate Media Center and Open Channel, to facilitate the public's use of cable television access. Theadora Sklover, founder and executive director of Open Channel, said public groups needed to learn how to shape visual images effectively to counter the insulating effects of broadcast television.²⁴ Sklover criticized the notion that the nearly full penetration of television in the United States provided a "national village" for members of its audience: "This collective viewing doesn't necessarily make us a village. In fact, it may be destroying basic features of our neighborhood villages. We don't even speak to each other. We simply receive, one-way, a common production from a common source."²⁵

"Wired" Society

Promotion of cable television to solve social problems reached a "critical mass" in the early 1970s as the cable industry and government and foundation reports explicated the benefits of a "wired" society.²⁶ A seminal work of that period was the report of the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications in 1971.²⁷ The report's title indicated that cable could provide "television of abundance." Ralph Lee Smith, a member of the Sloan Commission staff, helped to popularize the recommendations of the panel with an article, "Wired Nation," published in The Nation in 1970.²⁸ Smith expanded the article into a book with the same title in 1972.²⁹ The subtitle of the book, "Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway," provided a foreshadowing of the currently proposed "information superhighway." The Urban Institute in 1971 provided a guide, Cable Television in the Cities, for minority involvement in cable television systems.³⁰ The United Church of Christ in 1972 published Cable Television: A Guide for Civic Action to increase public involvement in the development, regulation, and uses of cable television.³¹ Grants from the Ford Foundation, \$2.5 million, and the Markle Foundation, \$500,000, established the Cable Television Information Center at the Urban Institute to provide assistance to municipalities in the granting of cable television franchises.³² Critics of the excesses of technological hyperbole described these years as the "blue sky" era of the cable television industry.³³ Critics of the promises also found a useful rhyme as a title for their critiques of cable television promises – the cable fable. The Yale Review of Law and Social Action in 1972 devoted an entire issue to the "cable fable" to challenge the findings of the Sloan Commission.³⁴ Kas Kalba, in the introductory essay for the issue, contended that the cable television policy-making had not included adequate public participation, had not examined the long-range effects of cable development, and had not included social goals such as greater minority ownership.³⁵ Kalba, a member of the Sloan Commission staff, argued that rather than attempting to meet consumer needs, cable policy "repeatedly protects industry interests whether they may be those of broadcasters, cable system operators, or copyright holders."³⁶ Debate about cable television and its future promise came to a head in the early 1970s

as the Federal Communications Commission attempted to encourage growth of the new medium without jeopardizing the commercial television broadcasting system.

Third Report and Order

Between August 1971 and February 1972, the fate of the communication revolution apparently hung in the balance. The FCC in August 1971 had announced formally to Congress plans to allow cable television into the nation's one-hundred largest broadcasting markets after a five-year "freeze." Supporters of the cable industry contended that without expansion into urban areas, the industry could not increase minorities' opportunities for communication access in cities or have the revenue to develop a wide range of new electronic services: home shopping and banking, entertainment on demand, and direct participation in the political process. Broadcasters indicated that "parasitic" competition from cable television systems would undermine the availability of "free" television to the public, and movie companies questioned retransmission of entertainment fare without royalty fees. In December, the White House brokered a deal to win acquiescence from the affected industries and business groups. In February 1972, the FCC approved a modified plan to end the cable freeze.

Critics and supporters of the FCC cable action, the Third Report and Order, questioned press coverage of the cable television deliberations, particularly in regard to framing of the issues under debate. Communications consultant Fred W. Friendly in 1972 argued that a lack of news coverage had resulted in a business compromise that failed to recognize the public interest: "Most newspapers and broadcast stations botched or ignored the story. After all it is a complex issue. It is my contention that with the possible exception of Vietnam and the cities, telecommunications is more important than any story the media covers, and it gives it short shrift."³⁷ Stuart P. Sucherman, a Ford Foundation official, indicated in a 1971 Columbia Journalism Review analysis that the press essentially had ignored coverage of cable television issues: "Cable TV admittedly is one of the most complex and difficult subjects – but its technological and economic implications are so vast that it could change the way Americans live."³⁸

Other commentators indicated that academic and journalistic interest had propelled cable television toward greater acceptance that made the compromise feasible. Bruce Owen of the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, in 1973, indicated that academic interest in cable services had made cable more respectable to Washington policy-makers.³⁹ Kenneth R. Goodwin, a planning official with the FCC, in 1973 contended that "widespread media coverage of the cable debate heightened expectations that the FCC would act to encourage cable growth."⁴⁰

Speculation in the early 1970s about the effects of a cable-led "communication revolution" mirrors current interest in the development of an "information superhighway" and its economic, social, and political effects. Among issues of contention were what roles the federal government, commercial providers, public-interest groups, and consumers should have in policy-making for cable television and whether minorities and the disadvantaged would have full access to its services and opportunities. Newspaper coverage of the period generally framed the cable television policy debate in terms of whether a cable-led "communications revolution" would proceed from expansion of cable television systems into the nation's one-hundred largest markets.

Cable Regulation

Although "community antenna television" (CATV) began as a means to bring television signals to areas unable to receive such signals because of distance from broadcasting centers or unfavorable terrain features, legal authority for regulation of cable television initially was unclear. A series of lawsuits helped to clarify the FCC's authority to regulate cable. Initial FCC efforts to regulate cable television systems were without any statutory authority.⁴¹ The FCC's efforts to assume jurisdiction over cable television systems resulted in a series of lawsuits that challenged the regulatory authority of the commission over cable television, but the US Supreme Court in US v. Southwestern Cable in 1968 held that cable television was an "ancillary" or supplementary service to broadcasting⁴² and the FCC thus had authority to regulate cable television. The high court in US v. Midwest Video in 1972 declared a goal was "to integrate the CATV service into the national television structure in such a way as to promote maximum television service to all people of the United States – both those who are cable viewers and those dependent on off-the-air

service."⁴³ The Supreme Court's Fortnightly decision in 1968, to the surprise of broadcasters and regulators, provided protection for cable companies from copyright infringement lawsuits.⁴⁴

Supporters of cable television promoted the greater channel capacity that cable offered over broadcasting, the possibilities of "narrowcasting" to audiences with specific interests or needs, and the prospect of using two-way cable television to provide interactive services through which viewers could make entertainment choices or shopping decisions or express political views. The FCC restriction on urban development had attempted to protect broadcast television and particularly the nascent UHF channels.⁴⁵ Goals of public-interest support for cable television included reconstitution of community, revitalization of democracy, and increased access to communication resources for minority and disadvantaged groups.

Chronology of Negotiations

Central to the debate about the future of cable television in the early 1970s was the question of importation of distant signals. Although early cable television systems brought television programs to areas that could not receive over-the-air transmission, cable television companies were attempting to move into urban areas, which already were receiving programming from both network and independent broadcast stations. By 1971, 2,500 cable systems were providing programming to approximately 4.9 million viewers.⁴⁶ Cable television, which reached approximately 10% of the broadcast television audience,⁴⁷ had made inroads into urban areas such as New York and San Diego because of the ability to provide better color transmission and more program diversity,⁴⁸ but cable representatives argued that only availability of signals from distant cities could provide the diversity that would make cable television attractive to urban residents.⁴⁹

Broadcasting executives argued that such importation of distant signals would be unfair competition for broadcasters, particularly UHF stations that were attempting to survive a lack of viewer interest.⁵⁰ Although the FCC had attempted to regulate transmission of distant signals by microwave on a case-by-case basis, under pressure, presumably from broadcast industries, the commission in its 1966 Second Report and Order barred importation of distant signals into the

nation's one-hundred largest broadcast markets, effectively blocking cable entry.⁵¹ In a series of proposals during the next few years, the FCC attempted unsuccessfully to resolve those issues.⁵²

By the early 1970s, a number of factors prompted expectations of changes in cable policy. Appointment of Dean Burch as FCC chairman and Clay Whitehead to head the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy essentially brought into the cable-broadcasting debates officials more supportive of cable television than their predecessors.⁵³ Broadcasting magazine reported, a few months after Burch took the FCC post, that "the word is going out of the commission that the chairman is 'pro-CATV.'"⁵⁴ Whitehead endorsed "a regulatory framework that is favorable to the growth and development of the cable industry."⁵⁵ The Rostow Commission report in 1968 had endorsed development of cable as a means to provide better communication access for minorities in urban areas.⁵⁶ The cable television industry also began to restructure as multiple system operators (MSOs) began to replace smaller cable firms.⁵⁷

The New York Times provided notice of new cable deliberations in March 1971, with FCC public hearings on the future of cable regulations. Although the Times did not provide extensive coverage of testimony at the hearings, a report indicated that one problem of such regulation was that cable potential was two-fold, both as a retransmitter of over-the-air signals and with the potential of a number of non-broadcast programs and services, "a new system of communication unto itself."⁵⁸ The report also noted broadcasters' characterization of cable systems as "destructive parasites."⁵⁹ Times columnist Max Frankel indicated in a column a few days later that the conflict that the FCC faced was in balancing the promotion of cable television "while making certain, in the early stages, that the widest possible segment of the public will have access both to the management of the system and the material it purveys."⁶⁰ Frankel noted the parade of witnesses at the FCC hearings and the interest of many that the FCC effectively plan cable television use for the common good: "The overwhelming plea of disinterested witnesses is that the commission retain tight control over a medium that is likely to dominate communication in a short time, carrying public, commercial, and personal news, information and entertainment."⁶¹

In a news story the same day, the Times reported that the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ was initiating a program to provide access to cable television for minorities and the poor. The advisory service was to inform citizens of their rights in regard to cable television services and was in response to "concerns that commercial interests would dominate the development of cable communications and deny access to the medium by minorities and the poor."⁶²

FCC Chairman Burch in April 1971 had little optimism about quick resolution of the cable controversy when he spoke to a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters. The New York Times also reported that Burch expected Congress to review thoroughly any proposals for resolution of disputes over the future of cable.⁶³ The Times carried an Associated Press dispatch later in April that President Nixon had named a cabinet-level committee to help develop cable television policy. Clay Whitehead was to head the panel with the charge to "permit full development of cable TV's potential without serious disruption of existing television services."⁶⁴ The White House action brought disquiet from the cable television industry. The New York Times reported in July that Senator John McClellan, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on patents, trademarks, and copyrights, had not reassured industry delegates at a National Cable Television Association convention. The Times reported that McClellan, a Democrat, had referred "to the general feeling in the cable industry that President Nixon's intervention, coming close to the start of an election year, was a pointed reminder to broadcasters that they need a friend in the White House."⁶⁵ The Times reported that the senator also had questioned the make-up of the committee: "Senator McClellan observed disapprovingly that the six-man committee President Nixon has appointed to review cable policy has more experience in politics than in the tangled issues of communications and regulations."⁶⁶

The Times reported that Whitehead, who also addressed the NCTA convention, told delegates that the White House cable committee had as its purpose not a delay in cable growth but an acceleration in development of cable policy: "Mr. Whitehead contends that the FCC is too mired in the minutiae of regulation to deal with the sweeping significance of cable policy

formation."⁶⁷ Whitehead said the White House and Congress both would have a role in development of cable policy since cable television involved not only a retransmission of broadcast signals but also provided a "revolutionary diversity and a fundamentally new system of communication."⁶⁸ Whitehead left no doubt about the complexity of the cable issues: "The only thing that comes close to it is the strategic nuclear problem."⁶⁹

The New York Times reported a few days later that the Center for Policy Research at Columbia University had received a \$124,300 grant from the National Science Foundation to study use of cable television for communication and decision-making on the community level. The Times quoted Amitai Etzioni, the center's director, as indicating that the study would determine if cable television could be used to "provide neighborhoods with their own TV networks which could be used for community dialogues with elected officials."⁷⁰ The study also was to examine use of cable television for instant polling of citizens of the community and for intercommunication between members of a community.

In June 1971, FCC Chairman Burch testified at a congressional hearing that the FCC was ready to support importation of distant signals into cities to boost cable growth. Burch told the subcommittee, the New York Times reported, that the importation of two distant signals would allow the cable industry to grow without threatening the prosperity of the broadcasting industry. The report noted the dual nature of cable's potential:

Further, he [Burch] said, the ultimate success of cable television would still rest on the development of services that were not dependent on broadcasting – including original entertainment programming, coverage of local affairs, rental of channels to new commercial markets, and such exotic cable uses as the delivery of facsimile copies of newspapers.⁷¹

The newspaper report included the position of the cable industry that importation of distant signals was necessary for urban expansion and a "prior condition of any development of its more important potential" while presenting the view of the broadcasting industry that "sees the offering of out-of-town channels as parasitic competition."⁷²

By August 1971, Burch had received nearly unanimous commission support for a proposal to allow cable importation of two distant signals into the nation's one-hundred largest markets.⁷³

In an unusual step, Burch notified Congress, in a letter of intent, of the FCC's plans to allow the importation of two distant signals into urban markets. In return, the cable systems would have to pay some retransmission fees, provide free channels for public use, government, and education, and lease vacant channels on a common-carrier basis.⁷⁴

The Post, in its coverage of Burch's "letter of intent," noted the arguments of the cable industry that without out-of-town television programs, "new CATV systems will never be able to attract enough subscribers to generate profits necessary to produce original cable television programs, which would be shown exclusively to subscribers."⁷⁵ The Post indicated that the proposed provision of two-way capability "would allow cable systems ultimately to be used for burglar alarms, market surveys of subscribers or even remote ordering of merchandise from stores."⁷⁶ The New York Times also noted the future potential for cable: "New cable channels would also have to have two-way capacity, allowing subscribers to send as well as to receive messages and broadening the future uses of cable systems to include such things as marketing systems and burglar alarms."⁷⁷ An Associated Press story indicated that the FCC planned to encourage cable television without unduly hurting conventional broadcasting. The AP story quoted Burch as indicating that importation of distant signals "is the guts of the document because we recognize that the importation of distant signals will be required to enable the hoped-for benefits of cable to become a reality."⁷⁸

Edward W. Bartlett, former journalism dean at Columbia University, echoed this concern in a New York Times op-ed column August 20:

To many, CATV is just a means of getting clearer or more distant signals. Yet it offers unparalleled opportunity to gain extraordinary new services. CATV systems can be designed to provide twenty, forty or even more channels. Such channels can afford communications with the neighborhood, minority groups or the constituency of a congressman or candidate. Other channels can serve schools and colleges and provide adult-education courses.⁷⁹

Bartlett cautioned against haste in cable policy deliberations and against a lack of public participation in these deliberations. Participation also was a concern of Theodore S. Ledbetter, Jr., president of the Urban Communications Group, Inc. of Washington, DC: Ledbetter told a

religious seminar in New York in September that: "Unless blacks participate in a meaningful way in the development of cable television, cable TV will not develop in any of our major urban communities."⁸⁰

Although the cable industry generally praised the FCC plan, broadcasters and the movie industry resisted the proposals.⁸¹ In July, Whitehead had begun his involvement in the deliberations with a meeting of representatives of the industries, but the FCC announcement about importation of distant signals had ended those talks.⁸² As debate continued about the future of the FCC proposal, a group of state cable associations in November purchased an advertisement in the New York Times. The cable groups appealed directly to President Nixon to serve the public interest rather than "narrow commercial" interests and asked Nixon to consider the future potential of cable: "You have heard of the wired-nation concept. You can talk to the nation over cable as well as through the air."⁸³

In November, Whitehead and Burch presented the affected parties with an alternative proposal.⁸⁴ In what Burch described as a compromise, representatives of the industry groups accepted and their constituents later ratified a proposal that tied distant-signal importation to exclusivity rights.⁸⁵ Under the plan, cable companies would be able to import distant signals into the fifty largest markets, but stations in those areas would retain exclusive rights to programming for the duration of their contracts. In the next fifty markets, such exclusivity rights would last only for two years.⁸⁶ The exclusivity provisions essentially prevented cable operations in the fifty largest markets, but analysts indicated that cable companies were able to move from a potential market of 10% of the broadcast audience to a potential market of 25% of the broadcast audience.⁸⁷

The Post carried the details of the OTP-brokered agreement and repeated the cable industry's argument that importation of distant signals was necessary to develop cable's potential: "And only after establishing a base of subscribers, the CATV industry contended, could it begin to provide the variety of services possible with cable control-station burglar alarms, specialized television programs, broadcasts of local government meetings, or school events."⁸⁸ The Times story November 11 reported that Whitehead had told the cable industry that the agreement was the last

chance for compromise: "If the cable operators do not yield quickly, Mr. Whitehead is warning the five-year fight over the future of cable will go to Congress, where the FCC plan will probably be changed and will certainly be delayed."⁸⁹ The November 11 story included no discussion of potential revolutionary benefits of cable television. The front page story in the Times November 12 indicated that the "agreement, reached with the strong encouragement of the White House, is designed to extend cable's growth out of the remote rural areas, where it began, into the nation's smaller cities. But it would purposively slow cable's development in the 50 largest markets where more than two-thirds of the American television audience lives."⁹⁰

In the midst of the cable agreement, the Sloan Commission released its recommendations for development of a national cable system. Both the Washington Post and the New York Times carried stories on the release of the Sloan Commission report. The Post report found the Sloan recommendations more liberal on distant-signal importation than the industry agreement: "These differences reflect divergent attitudes toward the possible threat cable may pose to the broadcasting industry."⁹¹ The Times summarized the Sloan Commission report as finding that "cable television has the potential to revolutionize the nation's culture, journalism, politics and community needs and services."⁹² In his analysis of the Sloan Commission report, Times columnist John J. O'Connor had little optimism that cable television would provide any improvements in television content even with the "abundance" of cable:

That promise, covering a wider variety of entertainment, news and services, carries no guarantees. The history of broadcasting is a history of shattered promises. Educational and cultural millennia were clearly slighted with the advent of radio and, years later, of television. The result, with few exceptions, has been a broad band of mass-produced mediocrity, wrapped in the sometimes startling protection of official agencies.⁹³

A Times editorial the same day also addressed the issue of cable abundance and the Sloan Commission report:

The options that have emerged as a result of these studies reveal that there is no simple formula that can please existing broadcasters and cable operators. But a larger principle of public interest has come to the forefront, one that stresses a variety of educational, news and other programming on a local and national level. It is this principle that must be served by the Federal Government.⁹⁴

The new year began with a broadcasting broadside against the White House-brokered agreement. CBS President Frank Stanton, in a letter to Congress, argued that the cable agreement eventually would deprive millions of poor people of the benefits of "free" television.⁹⁵ Post reporter Robert J. Samuelson had other dire predictions in a front-page story, "Cable TV Ruling May Cut Out 50 Big Areas," in late January: "The Federal Communications Commission is on the verge of adopting regulations that should make it difficult for cable television to gain a foothold in many of the nation's cities and suburbs."⁹⁶ Samuelson noted that cable proponents argued that installation of cable systems would lead to more diversified programming while broadcasters indicated that "cable will simply multiply the amount of today's mass entertainment programming except that CATV subscribers will have to pay for it."⁹⁷ Samuelson included the cable industry argument that distant-signal importation was an important step in creation of a new communications system: "Once they have established their base, cable leaders say they will be in a better position to promote a wider variety of original new programs and services."⁹⁸

The FCC in February 1972 approved the revised plan on a 6-1 vote with its provisions to become effective March 31, 1972.⁹⁹ Along with settlement of the issue of importation of distant signals, the FCC required cable systems to provide the capacity for two-way transmission of signals and those with more than 3,500 subscribers to make available at least one public, education, government, and leased-access channel. Access to the channels would be available on a first-come, first-served basis, and cable systems would have to provide a minimum of five minutes of free production time to each group or individual that used the access channel.

The final report included acrimonious exchanges between Burch and Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, who had concurred in part and dissented in part to the majority's decision on the regulations. Johnson criticized White House intervention in the regulatory process and criticized Burch for a lack of public involvement in development of the FCC regulations.¹⁰⁰ He questioned the behind-the-scenes nature of the deliberations on the industry agreement in November.¹⁰¹

The Post had the advantage on coverage of the FCC's release of its Third Report and Order that established cable television regulations. In an article, "FCC Ends Freeze on Cable TV,

Approves New Regulations" on page A3 with no by-line, the Post reported February 3: "The Federal Communications Commission yesterday approved new regulations for cable television designed to end a three-year freeze on the expansion of CATV into large and medium-size metropolitan areas." Coverage the next day included front-page stories in the Post, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times. The Post and the New York Times were not in full agreement on the impact of the FCC decision. The Times story carried the headline, "New Ruling on Cable TV Limits Its Big City Growth,"¹⁰² while the Post bannered its coverage with "FCC Ruling Opens Door to Cable TV in Major US Cities."¹⁰³ The Los Angeles Times headline addressed content: "New Rules for Cable TV Issued, See Widening Program Choice."¹⁰⁴

The New York Times report indicated that the new FCC rules would stimulate the growth of cable television systems in smaller cities but exclusivity provisions would check growth of the cable industry in big cities. The report noted Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson's criticism of "secret bargaining" that brought the industry agreement but indicated that FCC Chairman Burch had argued that "the industry pact, limiting the spread of cable networks, was the only practical basis for getting cable TV moving at all."¹⁰⁵ The report also noted the future potential for cable: "Beyond carrying broadcast signals, cable companies are being pushed to develop wholly new services. A requirement, for example, that cables have the capacity to carry messages in both directions will make them adaptable for instructional and security purposes."¹⁰⁶

The Post account attempted to provide a historical perspective on the FCC decision: "The Federal Communications Commission announced sweeping new rules to regulate and promote the growth of cable television into the nation's metropolitan areas. It was described by agency officials as a decision that could be the beginning of a new era of mass communication."¹⁰⁷ The story indicated that advocates had promoted cable television as the only way to assure diversified television programs while opponents had contended that cable could become widespread "pay TV."¹⁰⁸ The Post also noted Johnson's criticism of White House interference and indicated that the "cable compromise" was included nearly word-for-word in the FCC rules.¹⁰⁹

The Los Angeles Times story predicted rapid growth of cable systems in cities "because the new FCC rules permit cable systems to import out-of-town television signals, something they were previously barred from doing."¹¹⁰ The account did not mention possible effects of exclusivity provisions on installation of cable systems in the fifty largest TV markets, although one of the final paragraphs of the story noted: "The protection for networks and syndicated programs in the top 50 markets is continued in a rule which forbids the cable company from bringing in such a program if it is already available on a local station."¹¹¹ The Los Angeles Times, in noting the requirement for new cable systems to have two-way capacity, amplified the potential of the new technology: "Eventually viewers will be able to talk back to the people appearing on television."¹¹²

A UPI dispatch reported: "The Federal Communications Commission adjusted rules Thursday to let cable television systems for the first time import distant signals into cities on the basis of a compromise plan protecting the exclusivity of free TV programs."¹¹³ The dispatch noted the November 10, 1971 industry agreement on distant-signal importation and Johnson's objections: "If cable is to grow, it must be in the big cities – where it is precluded. If the potential need and demand for local channels, public access channels, and minority programming are to be served, it must be in the big cities. It won't be."¹¹⁴ The dispatch also noted that Burch had addressed the future potential of cable: "Cable TV has to do a lot more. We have to open the way to see if it will be the wave of the future."¹¹⁵

Order Moot

With the action in 1972 the FCC weighed in solidly on cable regulation, but court decisions and subsequent technological developments made many of the requirements of the Third Report and Order moot. In its Midwest Video II decision, the Supreme Court invalidated federal requirements for public-access channels.¹¹⁶ The high court upheld a lower court ruling that the FCC access requirements treated cable television systems as common carriers in violation of a ban of such regulation of broadcasting in the Communications Act of 1934. Although the exact regulatory status of cable television remained a subject of debate, the Supreme Court in Midwest Video II decided to treat cable television as the broadcasting "ancillary" of the Southwestern Cable

case.¹¹⁷ Supporters of public access and community television turned to local and state governments to provide access mandates in cable franchises and to win support for production services to use that access.¹¹⁸ Development of satellite technology and implementation of an "open skies" policy transformed the meaning of "distant signals."¹¹⁹ The FCC decision in 1972, along with satellite technology, pay-cable channels, and squeezing of more channels onto coaxial cables, helped to set the stage in 1980 for what Broadcasting described as a "Gold Rush" of cable companies attempting to win franchises in urban areas.¹²⁰

Gold Rush

Although the FCC, in its 1972 Third Report and Order, required cable television companies to provide the capacity for two-way transmission of signals, the FCC did not mandate provision of those services.¹²¹ The FCC indicated that such services could include "surveys, marketing services, burglar alarms, educational feed-back to name a few."¹²² The federal government, in the mid-1970s, also funded several experiments with two-way cable television to discern its usefulness in addressing social problems and needs.

While US cable companies, with Warner-Amex's Qube and Cox's Indax, worked to develop two-way cable television services to gain advantages in competition for major-market franchises, by 1986, the high-profile experiments in two-way cable television in the United States were over. Warner-Amex suspended all Qube services but pay-per-view in 1984. Indax never went into commercial operation. Congress, in the Cable Communications Act of 1984, allowed cable companies to renegotiate franchise provisions for services including two-way transmission of signals,¹²³ but the fallout from cable systems' failures to provide negotiated services quieted cable-industry enthusiasm for interactive services for several years.¹²⁴ Increasingly available home computers set the stage for a new wave of interactive enthusiasm in the 1990s but complicated the development of television-based interactive systems in the 1970s and 1980s.

Two-Way Cable Television

The 1970s had begun with enthusiastic projections of the benefits of cable television, including two-way transmission systems. Between 1972 and 1984, the federal government,

public-interest groups, and cable companies sponsored large-scale tests of two-way television. Among those projects were three tests of delivery of social services, which the National Science Foundation funded, and the commercial Qube system in Columbus, Ohio. These projects did not provide fully interactive services. Although the use of coaxial cable could allow customers to send messages back to the point of origination of the cable transmission, provision of point-to-point communication as the telephone provides would have required switching facilities that were available to cable companies only on an experimental basis.¹²⁵

Foundations and the government made substantial investments in the study of the use of cable television to address social problems and to meet community needs. The Rand Corporation began its research on cable television issues, including two-way transmission, in 1969, with grants from the Ford Foundation and the Markle Foundation. The National Science Foundation also asked the Rand Corporation to compile a cable handbook for local decision-making.¹²⁶ In 1970, the Sloan Foundation provided \$500,000 for a study of the future of cable television, which resulted in the Sloan Commission report.¹²⁷ In 1972, the Markle Foundation gave the Mitre Corporation \$700,000 to prepare a cable-system design for large cities as a first step toward developing a real "wired city."¹²⁸ The National Science Foundation in 1974 funded projects in Reading, Pennsylvania, \$200,000; Rockford, Illinois, \$400,000; and Spartanburg, South Carolina, \$1.1 million; to test use of two-way television to provide social services. The Reading project, which the Alternate Media Center at New York University coordinated, involved services for senior citizens.¹²⁹ The Rockford project, which Michigan State University directed, provided job training services.¹³⁰ The Spartanburg project, under the supervision of the Rand Corporation, provided general education services.¹³¹ Although the Rockford and Spartanburg projects ended after the grant period, a community organization, Berks Community Television took over operation of the Reading project, and it remains in operation.

Qube

Commercial experiments with two-way cable television began in Columbus, Ohio, in 1969,¹³² in Dallas in 1970,¹³³ and in Kansas City in 1971.¹³⁴ Warner Cable, which became

Warner Amex in 1979 after American Express bought a share of the company, formally announced in February 1977 plans to begin a test of a two-way cable television system in Columbus, Ohio. The Warner cable system was one of several in Columbus, which has a reputation as a good Midwestern test market.¹³⁵ Coaxial Communications, which Warner acquired in 1980, had inaugurated two-way communication tests in Columbus with a pay-per-view system.¹³⁶ Although the Qube system was to offer two-way interaction with customers, Warner planned a series of tests since the system also included local programming, pay-per-view, and programming for target audiences.¹³⁷ Qube service began in Columbus in December 1977.

All Qube subscribers received a console with five response buttons for program selection or participation in viewer-choice options.¹³⁸ Qube provided thirty channels including commercial television stations, community channels, premium pay channels, consumer information, and college courses. Local programs included "Columbus Alive," a variety and talk show, and "Flipppo's Magic Circus" and "Pinwheel," children's shows. Also available were first-run movies and an adult-film channel.¹³⁹ One observer of Qube was optimistic, in 1978, for the future of two-way television: "With further development of two-way cable television as it exists in 1978 it is feasible that two-way cable television could be a fourth major television network."¹⁴⁰

Two-way services that were available included fire and security alarms. Two-way options for customers included market testing, picking football plays, judging a boxing match, choosing an ending for a movie, picking a magazine cover, and expressing views on social and issues.¹⁴¹ Reactions to presidential speeches generated some controversy. Such "polling," as the reaction measure was called, brought criticism at the time because of the size of the audience involved and the lack of randomness in the procedures.¹⁴² Despite the diversity of services and programming, the options of two-way cable television prompted some concern. New York Times critic Janet Maslin, in 1982, described the Qube environment as a "nightmare" because of the extension of television passivity to other activities.¹⁴³

Marketing Tool

Whatever their limitations, two-way systems provided a marketing tool for cable television companies seeking franchises. Although the FCC in 1972 eased restrictions on cable system expansion into urban markets, satellite transmission of programming spurred urban growth as did interest in public-interest and business services. Cities included requirements for two-way systems and extended channel capacities in their requests for proposals.¹⁴⁴ Broadcasting magazine noted in 1980 that franchise interest included public-interest concerns: "Part of the rush to franchise in the cities is being generated from within, with little or no prompting from the cable operators. Many public interest groups are interested in the idea of local access programming, another key feature of almost all cable franchise proposals."¹⁴⁵ Analysts again contended that cable television could enhance the sense of community. Small communities, large communities, or segments of large communities could have their own cable television programs and a two-way communication system: "The medium of cable television itself will transform the social and political processes. It is a technological revolution almost unsurpassed in possible effects and impact."¹⁴⁶

Within a few years, Warner had won approval to install Qube systems in Cincinnati, Dallas, Houston, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh.¹⁴⁷ Warner initiated a two-way network to serve all of its Qube systems in May 1983, but that service ended only a few months later in 1984. Warner had the only commercial two-way television system in operation, but Cox Cable, based in Atlanta, attempted to compete for franchises with its Indax system.¹⁴⁸ Cox Cable conducted tests of Indax in San Diego, California, and won approval to install Indax in Omaha, Nebraska; New Orleans, and Vancouver, Washington. Cox failed to get any of those systems in operation.

Bail-out

Failure to provide those two-way cable television services resulted in threats of litigation from cities and lawsuits from citizens who challenged the franchises.¹⁴⁹ Cable companies, by 1984, had begun to question the soundness of investments for two-way services: "The mood of the cable industry has changed so much that no cable company would now offer anything other

than a basic system in a major city."¹⁵⁰ Cities also had the option to sell problem franchises to other companies. When TCI proposed, in 1984, to acquire the Pittsburgh franchise from Warner, TCI President John Malone indicated that his company would remove the "Rube Goldberg" or Qube equipment.¹⁵¹ Cable Vision magazine, in January, 1985, listed "major concessions won by cable operators" during 1983 and 1984 as Warner Amex's deferring of construction of Qube in Milwaukee and Cox's deferring of Indax construction in Omaha, Tucson, and Vancouver, Washington. Other cities that gave concessions to cable television companies were Portland, Oregon; Los Angeles, Denver, Dallas, and Pittsburgh.¹⁵²

Warner Amex curtailed its Qube operations in Columbus except for pay-per-view in January 1984 as cable companies sought to find relief from franchise requirements for two-way systems and greater channel diversity.¹⁵³ Congress in 1984 approved the Cable Communications Policy Act that essentially deregulated the cable industry. Among the provisions of the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 was a clause that allowed cable companies to renegotiate franchises that included services that were "commercially impracticable" to provide.¹⁵⁴ The House report on the act blamed both the cities and the cable companies for the failure of cable companies to meet franchise requirements:

Faced with stiff competition for franchises, some cable operators simply overpromised and oversold in the franchise process...Cities likewise were caught up in the 'blue sky' potential of cable. Cities began to seek greater system capacity, more public access facilities and support, and one- and two-way communications systems for school and municipal offices, often at minimal or no direct charge to the government.¹⁵⁵

Passage of the act, in October 1984, followed months of negotiations between representatives of the National League of Cities and the National Cable Television Association on the appropriate role of municipalities in regulation of cable systems. City officials argued that Congress was limiting municipal authority over cable systems¹⁵⁶ and that municipalities needed authority to enforce franchise requirements: "The need for local authority is to represent the interests of the community in awarding bids to assure that the successful bidder lives up to commitments."¹⁵⁷ The cable industry countered that the proposed legislation would protect cities

from the FCC's pre-emption of all authority for cable-TV regulation: "The big question looming for cities, as the clock ticks on, is whether Congress will be allowed to enact a final version (of cable television regulations) fast enough to preserve local cable authority before the FCC pre-empts that authority."¹⁵⁹ Some cable executives chose not to assume full responsibility for franchise shortcomings and blamed the failure to provide advanced interactive services on high expectations of cities and the promotion of such interactive services by government and public-interest groups.¹⁵⁹ The National Science Foundation projects provided examples: "These well-publicized public service applications led urban governments, then in the process of franchising, to expect operational two-way systems. The cable companies complied, entering bidding wars, with each company trying to outdo the other in offering elaborate two-way systems."¹⁶⁰

D. Stevens McVoy and Thomas F. Baldwin contended, in 1984, that two-way cable television services were developing at a rational pace: "Interactive, two-way cable television has passed through its promotional stage, which was based on hyper-enthusiasm for its prospects and the need to present a dramatic communications technology in the quest for franchises."¹⁶¹

Although cable companies were competing against each for franchises, they were aware of other competition for two-way or interactive services. Cable companies particularly were aware of the challenge of AT&T: "[C]able is up against some much bigger industries, such as AT&T, with a tradition of large-scale research and development. These competitors have the resources to subsidize development over a long period of time and survive some failures."¹⁶² McVoy and Baldwin suggested that full success for two-way services would require some good fortune: "If each of these services were to prove effective, and find a consumer market at about the same time, then the entire cable industry could quickly aggregate these services and build the administrative and marketing structure to fully exploit the technology."¹⁶³

For most of the rest of the decade the cable industry, with the closing of Qube and renegotiation of urban franchises, downplayed any involvement with interactive services.¹⁶⁴ Gustave Hauser, who left as chairman and chief executive officer of Warner Amex before the closing of Qube, failed to win advancement from vice chairman to chairman of the National Cable

Television Association in 1984, and Broadcasting reported that the snub was the result of the company overselling cable services to win franchises.¹⁶⁵ The magazine quoted unnamed NCTA board members as indicating the decision was a cable industry statement: "It [the industry] is concerned about the image of the industry as one whose members make 'blue sky' promises in competing for franchises, and then renege under the pressure of real-life business conditions."¹⁶⁶ Hauser downplayed the connection between franchise battles and his failure to win the post and told Broadcasting that "financial analysts, government officials, and the press share responsibility for the hype" that led to the unmet franchise commitments.¹⁶⁷

Tests of interactive services for cable television did not stop with the demise of Qube. Timothy Hollins, in 1984, was circumspect about the future of interactive communications: "The wired society will come, but rather more gradually, hesitantly and with many more pitfalls along the way than the public relations 'hype' of the last few years would have us believe."¹⁶⁸ GTE, an independent telephone company, began conducting tests in Cerritos, California, in 1979 to determine consumer interest in interactive services available through both cable television and telephone connections.¹⁶⁹ The telephone company's provision of cable television services on an experimental basis resulted in legal challenges from the National Cable Television Association.¹⁷⁰ Renewal of interest in interactive cable television has come in the 1990s amid projections of cable systems with five-hundred channels, proposals for telephone services through cable-television systems, and establishment of a standard for high-definition television.¹⁷¹ By 1995, even Time Warner, a corporate descendent of Warner Amex, was ready to begin another test of interactive television, the Full Service Network, in Florida.¹⁷² Time-Warner announced in May that those tests would end this year. Passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 allows the cable television industry fully into the provision of telephone services as well as allowing regional Bell operating companies to provide television services.¹⁷³

Conclusions

Government officials, public-interest groups, and newspapers in 1971 and 1972 framed the issue of cable regulation in terms not just of market shares of competing media but in terms of the

success or failure of a coming information revolution. Although broadcasting interests attempted to frame the issues in terms of cable "parasites" and deterioration of "free" television and movie studios raised issues of copyright infringement, the cable industry with the aid of government and public-interest groups framed issues of increased program choice, of increased access to communications services in urban areas, and of provision of an exotic variety of two-way services. Growth of the cable television industry, its audience, and its financial resources may have encouraged government action to increase installation of cable systems, but the possibility of a "communications" revolution provided the official rationale for reform of cable regulation.

In retrospect, the FCC's approval of the cable Third Report and Order did not result, on a widespread basis, in either the provision of two-way services or increased media access in urban areas. Program diversity has increased but primarily as the result of satellite transmission of original cable programming rather than importation of distant broadcasting signals. Government and cable industry officials indicated that without the revenue base of urban areas, cable systems would not be able to invest adequate funds in development of new programs and services. Press coverage of the cable deliberations did not frame the debate simply in terms of increased profits for cable systems or delivery of programs on essentially the same basis as network television.

Federal government policy generally extolled the role of mass media in establishment or re-establishment of community and in the promotion of democracy. Policy-makers and public-interest groups also extended this praise to cable television, which offered to overcome the scarcity of television channels available on the electromagnetic spectrum. The cable industry welcomed these social goals as it attempted in the early 1970s to gain a greater foothold against broadcasting interests. Also boosting cable was the access movement that saw greater opportunity for public participation in television program origination with the greater channel capacity offered.

Cable television, through two-way transmission of information, also provided the promise that audience members could become direct participants in the communication process as active originators of content – and in the confines of their own homes. Cable industry executives also welcomed these projections as they were attempting to win urban franchises. During the twelve-

year period between 1972 and 1984, cable grew and prospered as an alternative means of transmission of broadcasting content. By 1984, industry and government officials acknowledged that the cable companies had oversold the "future." Profits were to come through delivery of traditional broadcast-like fare, entertainment and news, and not home interactive services.

Ironically, in 1984 when "Big Brother" was to have been in interactive contact and control of all citizens, the federal government was helping private industry to bail out of the interactive business.

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¹⁶⁹"Surprise Choice" 34.

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John Shaw Billings: The Demons That Drove Time/Life's "Eitor's Eitor"

Billings: the Boy Nearly Killed by Turn-of-the-Century Medicine

The young man who would one day shape some of the most influential magazines in America almost lost his chance due to bad medicine. In June, 1906, eight-year-old John Shaw Billings, and Time/Life's future Chief Editor, lay suffering from toxic poisoning in his small bed at Redcliffe, deathly ill with what his family initially believed was a stomach ache. Billings' grandfather, Henry Hammond, a University of Pennsylvania Medical School graduate, warned that the boy had appendicitis. His family did not trust his diagnosis and turned to outside experts. Dr. William Doughty, "Augusta's foremost surgeon," confirmed the diagnosis and prepared for emergency surgery on the spot, summoning his assistants, Drs. Houston and Crane. Doughty began cutting on the boy at 3 a.m. in the front bedroom, known as the Rock of Ages Room. Young Billings' appendix had already burst, and the doctor despaired of the boy's life. Dr. Crane begged for a chance to try to save the child. The younger doctor managed to stave off death but performed the surgery badly. The family, alerted by the buzzing flies, found the boy's appendix on the washstand several days later. Turn-of-the-century medicine, lack of skilled doctors, and the difficulty of the operation all conspired against young Billings.¹

Billings was moved to Dr. Doughty's private hospital, Pine Heights Sanitarium, to convalesce. Over the summer, the doctors operated three more times, each time compounding the problems stemming from Dr. Crane's botched initial surgery. The fourth operation left the eight-year-old boy with a hole in his side which oozed caustic yellow gastric juices and half-digested food. His father, John Sedgwick Billings, a doctor himself, arrived too late to assist or advise. Over the next month, the boy made little progress.

Finally, his father brought him back to New York on a bumpy train. There, distinguished surgeon John Rogers, a friend of the senior Billings, took over the young boy's care. At last, John Shaw Billings began to improve. The boy bravely faced a fifth operation, presided over by Dr. Rogers, which turned the tide. While recuperating, the lad called "Johnny Boy" by his father delighted in showing off the seven-inch scar from his surgeries.²

Some good did come of the child's travails. Billings seemed to mature over the summer following his life and death struggles. While at the Pine Heights Sanitarium, eight-year-old John Shaw Billings read his first entire book, *The Overall Boys*. Prior to his hospital stay, Billings' forays into literature consisted of vivid color picture books such as *Peter Rabbit* and *Little Black Sambo*, a book considered racist by today's standards. Besides developing an interest in reading, the boy stopped sucking his thumb, a habit his parents had despaired of breaking.

Illness seemed to inspire John Shaw Billings' literary leanings. At the age of 15, unhappy that his activities were limited to the sickbed where he suffered from chicken pox (he was not allowed to read), Billings made a telling entry in the diaries he had faithfully logged since the age of 12: "I am thinking of starting a small paper."³ This was an apocryphal note for the man who would become one of the most important and influential American editors in history.

Ancestral Roots at Redcliffe

John Shaw Billings was born May 11, 1898, at Redcliffe Plantation in Beech Island, South Carolina. He was the son of John Sedgwick Billings, a native of Georgetown, D.C., and the former Katherine Fitzsimons Hammond, who was born in Augusta, Georgia. Redcliffe, the house where Billings was born, was his mother's family home and the site of his parents' 1897 marriage.⁴

Redcliffe is a spacious, titanium-white, two story house surrounded by purplish-pink crepe myrtles, pecan trees, and about 50 camellia bushes. A painting of Redcliffe shows a shady lane, lined with magnolias, leading up to the house. John Shaw Billings' uncle, Henry C. Hammond, described the former plantation as "400 acres...one of the best farms--country estates--ancestral castles, if you please in the South."⁵

Redcliffe is near enough to the banks of the Savannah River that Hammond family members could view scudding ships from the observatory atop the house. The antebellum plantation home, built by Hammond slaves using Hammond lumber and Hammond brick, was continually owned and occupied by four generations of the colorful Hammond family.⁶ It was built for \$22,000, which it now earns each year as a tourist attraction (Billings donated the \$7,000,000 plantation to the state of South Carolina in 1973).⁷ Famed *Life* photographer Alfred Eisenstaedt took many pictures of the house and grounds.

John Shaw Billings came by his love of the South honestly. Billings' great grandfather, James Henry "Cotton is King" Hammond built Redcliffe in 1859. Hammond, who was governor of South Carolina from 1842 to 1836 and U.S. Senator from 1857-1860, resigned from the Senate upon Abraham Lincoln's election. At one time, Hammond ruled over 300 slaves.⁸ On March 4, 1858, Senator Hammond earned his niche in history with a fiery speech from the Senate floor defending slavery:

You dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dare make war upon it. Cotton is king.⁹

Katherine Fitzsimons Hammond, who moved to Redcliffe in 1873 at the age of six, held her family home close to her heart. She preferred Redcliffe to her husband's New York home. This separation of interests led to frequent quarrels with John Sedgwick Billings, who wanted his

wife by his side. Young John came to love South Carolina as well and preferred his mother's relatives to his father's. It was as if his Washington-born father and Georgia-born mother created a North/South schism in John Shaw Billings' mind:

North and South clashed in and around me almost from the day of my birth. The polarity of family and geography of custom and character was constantly at work on my mind and spirit. As I grew older this pull and haul was projected into the differences and disputes of my parents, each coming in some way to personify the two opposite forces operating in my life.¹⁰

During frequent childhood visits, Billings developed deep affection and strong ties for Redcliffe, which he would eventually purchase and lovingly restore to new glory in the culmination of a lifelong dream.

Education and Early Interest in Words and Pictures

John Shaw Billings was five years old when his parents noticed something unusual about the boy who would grow up to spend much of his life putting words together with pictures. In November, 1903, Billings' mother wrote:

There is not an hour of the day when Johnny Boy is in the house that he has not a pencil and paper, drawing and writing. He frequently declares that he is going to be a "great artist." This is not a conceit but a certainty that he has talent in that direction, that he will work up to great things.¹¹

At the age of nine, Billings demonstrated a budding interest in editing and, in this case, publishing. While at Redcliffe, young John purchased a composition book. He drew a title page for a publication he titled "A Book of Tales." He provided contents for the book including illustrations, a preface, an index, and an appendix. He dictated the opening for the story "A Trip Down South" to his governess. He wrote dialogue for several plays and drew pictures for the book.¹²

At age 12, Billings began his lifelong habit of making meticulous notes from his daily activities and recording his thoughts in his diaries. These windows into his life eventually numbered 79 discounting the voluminous scrapbooks, interoffice correspondence from Time/Life, numerous loose pictures, and even his wife's dinner menus. Until just months before his death, Billings expressed in his diaries what he dared not say out loud, used them to wage his private battles, to make sense of the world. He must have written them with the idea that one day someone would read them. He kept them secured in tin boxes, and when he would miss a week or more, he would expend great energy to get caught up again, sometimes typing his diaries, sometimes adding parenthetical citations such as "(see Feb. 21)." Perhaps he had hoped to guide future readers to a better understanding of him.

John Shaw Billings entered Harvard College in September, 1917. Shortly thereafter, as World War I began, he went to France as a member of the American Ambulance Service. Later he served in the Army Air Service at Love Field, Dallas, Texas. In September, 1919, he returned to Harvard but did not graduate.

Billings' Parents: Heaven and Hell

Billings' mother, Katherine, strongly supported her son's interest in writing, and she continued to nurture his calling until her death. She penned these words to 26-year-old John from what was to become her deathbed in Woodstock, New York:

My very dearest John: I haven't written often of late-but I have thought of you and loved you every minute of the time...I can hardly realize how ill I have been for months and months now--indeed it is eight months since I have been able to do anything. Except lie here and dream of you, your future successes and present happiness. And I have been so glad that you were happy - that your life was so full of joyous youthful love - that the full expectations of your happiness are being realized. Such imagination - idealization - and sentiment as you have are not given to many of us. May it always be yours and keep you as you are now - full of enthusiasm - romance - and feeling...To me you will always be young and beautiful.

full of charm and kindliness, with one of the most beautiful minds and highest ideals. You and Henry [his brother] have had my entire devotion since the moment you were born. And each year I love you more, and am more proud of you, my only reason for existence is to love you two, "and if God choose I shall but love you better after death."

Your devoted Mother,
Katherine H. Billings¹³

John Shaw Billings' relationship with his father was at best the most threadbare of ropes that ultimately snapped. John Sedgwick Billings had met his future wife while working as an assistant resident physician at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore in 1893. Katherine, who was training as a nurse at Johns Hopkins, called John Sedgwick Billings her "beautiful boy" in letters home. Their courtship, punctuated by "frequent trysts" in hospital linen closets, was risky due to hospital regulations and mores of the time. Billings later settled in New York to begin a career in municipal medicine but proposed to Katherine during a visit to Redcliffe.¹⁴

John Sedgwick Billings was unfaithful to his wife as early as seven years into the marriage. John Shaw Billings was greatly disappointed by his father's unforgivable behavior, which included a very public affair with a woman referred to as "Mrs. West," a patient who reportedly "finally dragged him down to public scandal." Katherine Billings taunted her husband about the fun he was having with his "jolly companions" while she stayed with their children at Redcliffe.¹⁵ Katherine suffered from Grave's Disease, a malfunction of the thyroid gland, during much of her married life. John Shaw Billings felt his father's infidelities put the added strain on Katherine that ultimately killed her. She died July 4, 1925, living just long enough to see her son's career as a journalist begin to blossom.¹⁶

Billings Becomes a Working Journalist

Billings began working as a reporter for the first time in 1920 for the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Telegram. He felt he now had the credentials and clout of a journalist. "I walked the ways of immortals. I was delighted. I want to stop people and ask them if they liked my article - my elation knew no bounds."¹⁷ The joy was short-lived. Billings was fired from the Telegram for "writing too much goddamn purple prose."¹⁸

Billings applied for reporting jobs at the New York Tribune and Sun with no luck. On December 28, 1920, John Shaw Billings, now 22, began an eight-year association with the Brooklyn Eagle. Here he would pay his dues, both emotionally and financially, for his press card. For \$25 a week, Billings covered the news of Flushing and Port Washington, later getting a break in September, 1921, when he became a writer for the Washington staff of the Eagle.

He wasn't always happy with his work, nor was his paper:

Congress met January third--and Celler of Brooklyn stirred up the animals with a charge that members of the House and Senate drank to excess. Later he modified his remarks for the Record, losing his nerve on the allegation. I muffed this local story and knew I would get a rebuke for my negligence. I did, together with orders to get everything local in sight.¹⁹

But Billings showed more loyalty to his pocketbook than to his paper. Desperate for money, he took on contract work for two House members:

I lined Bacon and O'Connel up for weekly Congressional reviews to be printed under their names for \$75 (each) per month. Printed in their local papers, this stuff goes over big - and I make a little money which I sorely need. Every Monday and Friday evening at home I spend about two hours or less writing these articles to be delivered to them the next day, rather surreptitiously, in the House lobby. The Eagle would have a fit if it knew I was making money on the side in this fashion.²⁰

Pushing yet more journalistic bounds, Billings was not above creating some news when it would make his life easier and satisfy his editor:

The Eagle went off on another parole story rampage and this subject had me busy for weeks. I hate this type of work, this crusading for the impossible. Crist ordered us to "raise some hell" about a local parole case, so I got Congressman Black to introduce an investigation resolution in the House. This furnished me an almost daily story. Finally the Rules Committee gave us a hearing, but of course nothing ever came of the matter. The Eagle got tired of the whole thing before I let up on the flood of copy.²¹

As Billings later reflected on his job as a journalist,

I am not a newsman - and never have been. On the Eagle I never was the demon reporter. Crist and Suydam [his editors] were constantly prodding me along toward the news. I have never got a scoop in my life and had no great admiration for those who did. My interest lay rather in the writing of the news - the neatly turned phrase, the paradoxical analysis, the scornful sarcasm.²²

Billings was not happy at work, said he "hated" Crist and was becoming despondent. He wanted to fill an internal void. He wrote, "my life is very empty these days and there is nothing on hand with which to fill it."²³ Shortly thereafter, he met Frederica Washburn Wade, daughter of the Chief Judge of the Georgia Court of Appeals, during a visit to Redcliffe in October, 1922.

I was taken along for a formal presentation to the beautiful Frederica...She was young - 21; she was pretty, except for a large mouth; her eyes were a fine blue and she had the whitest teeth I ever saw...I could see the stamp of the city on her and my heart unconsciously went out to her as one of my own kind.²⁴

Billings married 22-year-old Frederica Washburn Wade at Redcliffe on April 19, 1924.

He began cranking out stories for the Eagle with new vigor. He felt they were getting much for the \$55 a week they were paying him. At times he felt he was on an important journalist mission. "I had a feeling that I was carrying the Eagle forward into far undiscovered places, that I was fulfilling a mission of greatness."²⁵

Noteworthy figures rarely received praise in his diaries. On June 9, 1927, he interviewed Charles A. Lindbergh. Billings was not excited by the jaunty New York-to-Paris flyer who broke

aviation records and stunned the world. Lindbergh was returning aboard the Navy cruiser *Memphis*.

Lindbergh watched us and we watched him. But when we landed, tired and windblown, I went straight into the telegraph office and there spent two hours banging out a lot of tripe.²⁶

Less than one year after John Shaw Billings wrote about Lucky Lindy in his diary, family members summoned the 29-year-old journalist to John Sedgwick Billings' side. Suddenly the forgotten and ignored son had to search his soul to discover if it meant anything at all that his father was dying.

Billings' Father Dies: No Love Lost

Except for the first few years of John Shaw Billings' life, John Sedgwick Billings displayed a general lack of interest in his firstborn son. The psychologically-rooted demon born of an unfulfilled paternal relationship made its presence known. At 24, the younger Billings wrote, "He becomes in my mind's eye cold and detached and insincere--never interested in what I do on the same level with me."²⁷ Despite the fact that he had grown up in Washington, D.C., the senior Billings never visited his son during John's tenure as Washington correspondent for the Brooklyn Eagle.

John Sedgwick Billings added the final insult when, mere months after wife Katherine died of a heart attack, he married the secretary with whom he had been openly unfaithful. The younger Billings received a letter from his father announcing the widower's intention to marry Josephine Toering on Christmas Eve. John Shaw Billings wrote, "Goddamn him!...Mother not dead six months and father goes off and marries the woman who wrecked her life and happiness. Lord, how I hate them--This awful union breaks the last link between father and myself."²⁸

Receiving word that her father-in-law was seriously ill, the junior Billings' wife Frederica phoned her husband, warning him, "that I should guard against future regrets - in other words he was dying and I was to change my position? My heart has closed like a steel trap and there's no opening it now."²⁹ John Shaw Billings reluctantly went to his father's New York apartment where the senior Billings lay on his deathbed. The 57-year-old man was suffering from "blood poisoning," scheduled to undergo a third operation on his leg which doctors felt might be fatal.

Yet some measure of regret struggled to the surface. The child whom John Sedgwick Billings had ignored somehow awoke, and Billings recorded,

His utter helplessness in the face of this great event sent a new pity surging hot and cold up through me. To think, a man is about to die and we stand and watch with grim fortitude. I guess Mrs. Toering has all the desperation needed for the event. But father is never the kind of man who fastens others to him with unbreakable bonds of strong love... When I went up to the hospital with Henry, I had the impression of a spirit fighting terribly to live against the gray rain-soaked sky. A secret desire to see poor father (yes, I had come to that) possessed me but I choked it back because I knew it had no place in the scheme of things as they had developed. I wanted to take his hand, to go back with him to happier better years. But no - such action with its uncertain emotional response might prove fatal to him and nothing must be done now to diminish his small chance for recovery.³⁰

When his father's pulse began to fade, Billings thought, "I wish he'd hurry up and die and relieve us of this anxiety."³¹ When his father finally died on April 27, 1928, Billings confessed, "I had no particular feelings on the matter. I was conventionally glad that it was over and a little sorry that I would never see him again."³²

A day before the funeral on a visit to Arlington Cemetery, he carried his daughter Skeeter to the edge of her grandfather's freshly dug grave. She dropped one of her dolls into the open hole where soon would lie the casket of John Sedgwick Billings. She then tossed in the other doll and asked her father to get them both. "A moment of horrible indecision - and then off came my

coat and down into my father's empty grave I jumped, before the gaze of hundreds at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb, to snatch up my daughter's toys and hop out again in record time."³³

Billings continued work at the Eagle, fielding letters of condolence about his father's death, letters he could only remotely understand. He continued to refine his writing skills and enjoyed critical praise on a series of stories he wrote about the Washington Naval Conference. One of his editors once remarked, "My boy, you'll be a great man someday."³⁴ However, he was deeply concerned that Lewis Gannett, the chain newspaper magnate of the time, might buy up the Eagle for \$8,000,000. He worried about his future at the paper. Billings still had contempt for his job, comparing his work for the Eagle as the "luckless lot of a slave."³⁵

Time was looking for fresh talent and thought John Shaw Billings could provide the kind of in-depth Washington news coverage Henry Luce wanted. Time's managing editor John Martin was considering using Billings on a trial basis.

Flight from the Eagle

Billings began an ascent from the job he had come to loathe at the Eagle in May, 1928, when Time magazine's one-armed editor John Martin hired him as a "stringer correspondent." Time normally used rooms full of research "girls" to clip articles from other papers and check facts in reference books, but Time wanted a reporter with local expertise in Washington to dig even further.

I do not have to write for them, but simply answer their queries and do research work for them--for which I am paid \$25 a month. I took it on simply in the hope that something better would come of it later on, a real writing job.³⁶

Finally, the Time offer came through:

Jan 23, Wed. [1929] About noon, John Martin of TIME called me on the long distance telephone from New York. He asked me if I was free to come up to New York and take over the National Affairs section of that magazine. I stammered

YES in joyous excitement. At last - here was an escape from the Eagle at this most critical (sic) moment - an escape to higher realms! I phoned Frederica and stuttered out the glad tidings. I felt as if I had suddenly been released from prison. The Eagle became a paltry thing I could now kick aside and forget. Here at last was a break of good fortune in my life, a step up which I did not have to go out and hunt...at 3 p.m. came a definite offer: A three weeks trial period and then \$6,000 per year permanently. I telephoned Crist, got his permission to take a three-weeks leave of absence without pay to put over this new job - and then wrote Martin that everything was arranged and that I would come, but for \$6500 as a starting salary. (I am now making \$3,640). I was all agog over the prospect and hurried home to talk it over with Frederica. I took a bit too big a drink by way of celebration and felt uncomfortably heady. Frederica is glad for my sake that this change comes - but she plainly hates to leave Washington. Little Frederica does not know what to make of all the excitement and running around. I called George Hammond at Kathwood, S.C., and arranged for him to come right back to Washington at my expense and stay in the house while I am up in New York on the trial period. Such a big change lies ahead of us! I was happy!³⁷

Jan 24. Thur. I was all on edge about the TIME offer and was unfit to do any other work for the Eagle. The idea of failure on the trial period never occurred to me...Crist wired: "Post beat us badly on the Machold visit." Hurrah for the Post! And to hell with Crist and the Eagle. They have treated me badly and I have no regrets about leaving them. The Post will beat "us" even worse when I leave...But I can't afford to kick the Eagle yet: I may need it to fall back to if the TIME job fails. I wrote some piffling little filler-features - and came home early for a happy quiet evening.³⁸

Billings got off to a less-than-triumphant start at Time:

Feb. 1. Fri. My first writing day at the office. I spent it producing pieces about Congressional debates on cruisers and prohibition. I strained too hard, I guess, to get my Time effects because Martin said afterwards that one would have to be very patriotic to read those two long stories.³⁹

The same week he noted about a story on Calvin Coolidge's trip to Florida that he

...must have made a mess of it because the story was rewritten by Jackson and then so chopped to pieces that, when it finally did appear, it made no sense whatever. I was utterly ashamed of it - and felt sore inside about this rewriting business (I was to learn a lot more of it before I passed out of my novitiate).⁴⁰

He began at Time on January 30 and after a few stumbling weeks began to feel at home.

Feb. 14 - To the office early (I have a key now) and mapping out the week's work. I went up to Martin's for dinner. Afterwards we went over the White House plans

and prepared them for publication. Then he told me that I was accepted for the permanent job, though he admitted that my first week was pretty bad and he did not think I could do the job at all. The second week was much better. He spoke of the future, mentioned a \$20,000 per year salary eventually, spoke of Time stock as a bonus. I accepted the job - and my future was sealed. Many rumors about Time office of frequent shake-ups, that nobody lasts on the job. Will I? I'll try.⁴¹

Billings' style and Time's fit perfectly. His diary passages read much like the patter that became a trademark of Time. Several adjectives, often uncomplimentary, short snappy phrases, and a character summation were all hallmarks of Time. A cartoon satirist of the time, George Eggleston, in 1932 depicted the Time offices housing a "trick word editor" and a copy assistant standing outside Time owner Henry Robinson Luce's door saying "Short stocky pig-eyed tycoon Otto Drinkwater Bottomly sits, waits." A person matching the description is shown outside Luce's door.⁴² Another cartoon, drawn by E.J. Ellison of the New Yorker magazine in 1933, pictured a secretary telling her morose boss that "According to Time, sir, you are fiftyish, unpressed, bag-jowled, squat."⁴³ Time's stock practice of putting irreverent captions under pictures is something Billings had mastered in his picture albums prior to his work at Time. He wrote amusing captions under himself, his wife, even his dogs. One, beneath an unflattering 1927 photo of himself, read: "A little paunch."⁴⁴ It was typical for Time writers to describe Senator Huey Long as "long-legged, large-paunched, small-eyed."⁴⁵ It was hard to distinguish some of Billings' diary entries from Time reviews:

Today Geer was discharged, to my great relief. I could not stand his red-eyed sleepy stupidity. In his place, I have a young man named Penfold (Yale '26), a good writer, though ignorant of national affairs, intelligent, rather laconic, smoking an evil-smelling pipe.⁴⁶

I was introduced to Miss Katherine Klinkenberg of Kansas (large, loose-jointed, reddish hair, pinched pointed face, low voice, capable), who is in a sense my assistant.⁴⁷

Soon Billings would be using, possibly even helping invent, new household words. "I spent the whole day in writing the Young *cover story*, only to have Martin declare it formless and rewrite it,"⁴⁸ and, a few days later, "We have on the cover this week Owen D. Young as *man-of-the-year*."⁴⁹ After a three week trial period, Billings was given the position of National Affairs Editor.

Billings reviewed clippings from various newspapers that "the girls" cut (*Time* had a room full of women who clipped articles from other newspapers) then decided which stories should be written, or rather rewritten. Billings described his office as a "cute little cubbyhole, with a window, a desk, a bookcase, etc. It has carept (sic) on the floor and a glass partition over the front, with National Affairs printed on the glass door. I feel like a specimen in a glass bottle as I work there."⁵⁰ The 30-year-old, six foot tall, 190-pound Billings sat in the small office in his three-piece wool pinstripe suit, club print tie, silk handkerchief, and black wingtip shoes writing or rewriting stories brought to him. His penetrating, steely-blue eyes quickly picked out good copy from poor and, in later years as managing editor of *Life*, segregated pictures with "snap" from those that just lay there.

On his desk sat a small train (he loved trains), a box of Camel cigarettes, a pack of matches from the Rockefeller Center Tobacco Shop and a sharpened editing pencil. Billings was meticulously neat and kept his thick, graying hair short and oiled. He drove a battleship gray Packard which he tried to keep under 35 on his frequent road trips into Connecticut.

(The Death of An Angel)

Perhaps when angels die, demons are born. Once again, illness and lack of proper medical care played a terrible role in Billings' life. Billings titled his diary entries for September, 1929, "A tragic month!"⁵¹ He and his wife bundled up their sickly three-year-old daughter Frederica for a

trip to Indian Springs in a desperate bid to bring the roses back to her cheeks. At the Georgia health resort, Billings snapped the last photos he would ever take of his daughter. He showed her smiling as she held onto the chains attached to the wooden swing she had discovered at the tourist attraction. Another picture shows her drinking from a metal ladle as long as her arm with a slight smile, sipping the mineral water Billings hoped might somehow heal her. Young Frederica looked like a frail cherub who might have fallen from a Botticelli painting of Heaven. Gentle, looping blonde curls encircled her plump, pink face set with trusting blue eyes and a Daddy's girl smile.⁵²

The mysterious illness that had plagued the daughter Billings called "Skeeter" or "Skeetz" returned. Billings rushed her to the hospital, where a team of doctors worked feverishly but to little avail. Once again, the scanty medicinal knowledge of his day seemed to conspire against Billings. The three-year-old slipped in and out of consciousness, awoke long enough to call out "where papa: I want to see Papa, dear," then went into convulsions. Doctors tried to inject water directly into the child's bloodstream. Her temperature shot up to 106. Billings felt that "time ceased to exist as a measurement of feeling. Occasionally, I would go out on the screened porch, smoke a cigarette, find myself praying God to restore my little girl."⁵³ Billings blamed himself for his child's illness, thinking she had picked up some infection at Indian Springs.⁵⁴ For four days, he maintained a miserable bedside vigil, finally changing his clothes and showering in his doctor's private bathroom.

When Skeetz would no longer open her eyes, Billings wrote, "I have a terrific desire to pick my little girl up in my arms, hold her close to me, shake her out of her stupor and, by the very strength of my own love for her, revive her. Then with her I'd like to run as far away as possible from the hospital." He had Dr. High Moor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church come to the Child's bedside and christen her. "I did it out of hope, not hopelessness. Even if she should die,

her eternal soul is quite safe without this ceremony."⁵⁵ At 5:30 a.m. on September 28, as dawn was breaking, John Shaw and Frederica Billings watched their daughter slip into the dark.

Stunned, I went out into the hall where Frederica was standing. I took her in my arms and told her it was all over. Some super-strength held my outer life steady and straight - while my inner strength went all black and cold with shock and grief. My daughter is gone - gone!... Little Frederica was dead! She was gone from us forever. We would never cuddle her in our arms again, never hear her sweet voice. I am no longer a father! I keep saying that without understanding it.⁵⁶

Billings gave his own plot at Arlington Cemetery to his daughter. On the train ride to Washington, he read and reread the death certificate someone gave him but could not comprehend it. "Somewhere in a midst of tears, was a little white casket, laden with flowers - and in it - our whole life, gone forever!"⁵⁷ Later Dr. Funkhouser wrote Billings a letter venturing the opinion that Skeetz had died from a form of encephalitis.

Preservers of Billings' Redcliffe estate say his house and furnishings are exactly as they were the day he was rushed to the hospital from which he would never return. On a table in the front parlor, there is an oversized portrait of Skeetz which Billings must have seen every day. She beams up at visitors from the polished mahogany table. Whatever Heaven meant to Billings, he was sure his daughter was there.

The loss of Skeeter was to mark a turning point inward for Billings. Billings had a great need to receive nurturing, approval, and praise, commodities he would find in short supply from the man who arguably had the most profound effect on his life other than his father: *Time/Life* founder Henry Robinson Luce. Billings' craving for love and attention was to color the way he worked as managing editor of two of the world's most influential magazines.

The day after his daughter's funeral, Billings called his boss, *Time* managing editor John Martin, and told him all that had happened:

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He seemed strangely unsympathetic and taken aback, as if he expected me to return at once to my Time job...The next day I wrote him a blunt letter, complaining of his lack of understanding and declaring that if my absence should result in my discharge, I did not care.⁵⁸

Later Billings returned to work determined to get past the loss of his child.

I wanted to hear no mention of what I had lost, no expression of sympathy...I myself would not talk about it. It is really better to treat it thus, than make it a conversational topic. I am prepared to bury myself in my work as one method of helping me to forget my terrible loss.⁵⁹

Probably still smarting from Martin's callousness towards him after the death of his daughter, Billings charged into his managing editor's office on November 25:

Martin held out two stories of mine for rewriting - one about Sinclair's release from jail and the other about the use of the *Lexington* to make power for Tacoma - and this vexed me greatly, especially since he held them out and thus delayed my make-up. In effect I wasted six hours about the office, because he would not complete these two stories. Mad clean through, I flounced into his office at 7:30 to explain the make-up. My voice trembled with rage. After the explanation I said: "If this sort of thing happens again, you'll have to get someone else to write N.A.[National Affairs]." Martin seemed surprised - what do you mean, he asked. I told him how he had held me unnecessarily, shaking my finger angrily at him. He said: "Don't go home chewing on that bone." I told him to think it over - and walked out. Well, I've told him now! Perhaps I'll get better treatment and less rewriting afterward.⁶⁰

He felt sudden kinder treatment at *Time's* hands might be the result of his display of anger:

Dec. 3. Wed. Luce came in, said there were good things ahead, hinted that my salary would go up more than I had expected on Jan. 1 (I am now getting \$7,250. I was promised \$8,000 the first of the year. Luce hinted it would be \$9,000 or better). This news cheered me greatly.⁶¹

Dec. 4. Thur. Martin informed me this morning that my salary would be \$10,000 a year beginning Jan. 1. That cheered me immensely - but I guess I will be relatively as poor then as I was in Washington on \$3,600. I can't help but believe that my recent explosion had something to do with this healthy increase.⁶²

Perhaps Billings' fiery personality, summoned up by the loss of his daughter, caused Henry Luce to put a higher price on his National Affairs editor.

Time: Billings in Charge

Taking John Shaw Billings to lunch for the first time on February 9, 1930, Henry Robinson Luce told him, "a Time man must have a sense of style; if he knows how to write he can be taught what to write."⁶³ Billings began to bask in what felt like the warm glow of trust and confidence. Perhaps he had found the father figure for which he had always longed.

I was amazed at the freedom with which he told me things about Time's private affairs - how Time's stock is divided, how Haden's share was held and disposed of, Time's difficulty in buying it back, I enjoyed it. What does it mean. Has Luce any special interest in me?⁶⁴

The 31-year-old editor was a little in awe of the stammering man with a head full of ideas. Yet Billings was to remain frustrated for years under the man he first idolized and later despised. Harry Luce. At the height of the Great Depression, Billings was making the princely salary of \$10,000 a year doing what he enjoyed, yet happiness still would prove to be elusive under Luce. Billings had stepped into a mechanism that ground up people as magazine fodder for the Luce press. He noted with disgust that he had gone through several assistants in a matter of weeks, some of which he personally helped discharge.

On April 20, 1934, Billings was made managing editor of *Time* magazine. Alcoholic and argumentative managing editor John Martin could not be reeled in and controlled by Luce and had embarrassed the "Chief" for the last time during a staff meeting. The 35-year-old Billings learned that his salary was going up and his name would be changed in the box, "in other words, the job of managing editor is definitely mine. I have in fact made good."⁶⁵

Billings was now at the helm of a magazine that was making publishing history. By 1936, the company sold over 641,000 copies of *Time* each week. In 1941, nearly 40 million people a week were looking at *Life*. "Luce stood guilty of manipulating 50 million people weekly."⁶⁶ While the economy faltered, Wall Street put the company's book value at \$47 million. In 1936, Luce's shares alone (more than 40 percent of total equity) were worth over \$20 million.

Henry Luce's Ivy League staff did many things to make the magazine, which drew its material from the sweat of other publications' writers, seem different, fresher. *Time* writers wrote in staccato sentences and used ampersands to convey a sense of urgency. Billings' job as managing editor of *Time* (and, two years later, as the first managing editor of *Life* magazine) was "to put things in such order that Luce will be satisfied."⁶⁷ Yet, to Billings, Luce rarely seemed to be satisfied, or if he was, he didn't say so. In the early years, Luce had kind words for Billings. When Luce would toss him the rare bone of praise, Billings poured himself into his job with enthusiasm. When Luce left him in a cold shadow, Billings' work suffered. In that maddening, frosty isolation, another demon took up lodging in Billings' soul.

Time's Fight for Luce's Whiz

Billings would spend agonizing days and weeks engaged in mind-reading exercises, trying to figure out what the "Chief" meant when he requested stories filled with "charm," "smash," and "gee whiz."

Sept. 26. In the afternoon Luce called me in, handed by a copy of last week's issue in which he had marked criticism of N.A. His chief complaint: slow to dull lead to stories. I asked for constructive criticism but got little. (I hear Luce talking a lot of how *Time* lacks "brilliance" and I know he is referring to my writing). His criticism depressed me: he wanted me to jazz up my openings; Goldy [foreign news editor Laird Shields Goldsborough] was held up as a model. I returned to my office ready to chuck my job. Lord! I work like hell and this is all the good I get out of it. My spirits sink lower and lower. I took back a story I had

already written-and did it over, trying to give it the quality Luce wants. But I fear I lack what he expects. (I wonder if they would fire me at this late date?)⁶⁸

April 16. Luce called me in alone to tell me last week's N.A. was dull and unexciting - no showmanship. (I never heard the whistle blow when the *Ille de France* sailed). Very depressing for me when Luce gets so critical. He wants more zip and pop - and I'm not the one to supply that. I was so discouraged that it affected this week's work. I felt myself going downhill fast--oh, hell--what's the use of trying.⁶⁹

May 10. Luce is lost in *Fortune's* Italy story and I never see him. Luce did not like this week's issue - said he was "disappointed" with it. I wish I could turn out two "gee whiz" issues in a row.⁷⁰

Luce and I seem to have drifted apart - lost a lot of the personal touch. Perhaps he doesn't realize, just thinks he's giving me a free rein - but it makes me feel like he doesn't like me personally. And he's stingy with kind words or encouragement.⁷¹

Time, Life, and, in its own way, Fortune set historic standards in journalism. Time featured articles that read like short stories peppered with snappy patter and prose, even wisecracks. In an effort to make its stolen copy appear to be original, the magazine used people's full names and employed words normally reserved for thesauruses and tricky crossword puzzles. Time writers, and Henry Luce in particular, were only too quick to defend the journalistic practice of using harsh descriptions of people. When a Time writer referred to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "shriveled legs," a sea of controversy and letters inundated Time. Luce explained that this measure of honesty only pointed up the challenges Roosevelt rose above. However, when one of Luce's Ivy League wisecrackers described John Gielgud as a "sensitive and intelligent Englishman with a nose the size of a hockey puck," Luce distributed an interoffice memo clarifying his feelings on the matter:

No more cracks please about Mr. Gielgud's nose. Long experience has taught us that what hurts people most is a reference to some physical characteristic - and this is also what readers most resent our saying about people in whom they have no personal interest. Any reference to any characteristic is peculiarly the responsibility of the M.E. [Managing Editor]. This means that any writer who says a man has a

nose as big as a hockey puck is putting the M.E. on the spot - because if the M.E. doesn't catch it, it is the M.E. who is peculiarly at fault - and the M.E. is apt to become annoyed with a writer who pitches him too many sour balls. Obviously this does not mean a ban on physical characterizations. What it does mean is that physical characterizations are to be given the first call on our best journalistic skill, sensitivity and sense of responsibility. Hereafter if a king is to look like a dentist or anybody is to have a nose as big as a hockey puck, he will have it for Time's best considered reasons.⁷²

But far more than physical description was at stake here. Much depends on what skillful editors write—or what they do not write. If a personality under discussion in one of Luce's magazines was a Jew, it was regularly mentioned, particularly by foreign news editor Goldsborough. "Goldy" continually "described financier Bernard M. Baruch as 'Jew Baruch' and Premier Leon Blum of France as 'Jew Blum.' Leon Trotsky was usually tailed by the phrase 'nee Bronstein.' While discussing a demand for more Jewish ballplayers, Time slyly recalled that Jews, who had seen 'many diamonds on their brethren,' would now like to see more of their brethren on the baseball diamond."⁷³ In *Henry R. Luce: a Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century*, author Robert Herzstein notes that Billings and his associates "harbored the prejudices common among their peers. Digs at Jews pepper the pages of his voluminous diaries, where one reads about a 'repulsive Jewess,' a fat Jew opening a 'greasy paper bag,' and Jews frying odoriferous onions."⁷⁴ The man who was by this time head editor at Time/Life might not have made his positions on anti-Semitism known at the office, but Billings' diaries reveal plenty "When his brother, noted artist Henry Billings, took a Jewish lover, John Shaw Billings described her as an unattractive 'Jew woman.' Had John Billings felt differently about Jews, he might have offered Life's readers more material on the plight of the Jewish people in Europe."⁷⁵ According to Herzstein,

Like so many malcontents suffering from low self-esteem, managing editor John Billings projected his misery onto external victims, with Jews in the lead. Speaking

of his staff at Life during the war. Billings observed (with some exaggeration) that "We're all anti-Semitic, only some of us have better self-control than others."⁷⁶

Billings was democratic in his prejudice against people who weren't like him. While on a boat trip to Puerto Rico, Billings complained, "aboard were many Porto Ricans (sic), greasy ugly people whom I see I am not going to like."⁷⁷ Later in the trip: "There were too many damned Porto Ricans aboard for comfort! I had an intense dislike for them, they are so dirty and ugly! About on the level with negroes. 'Decks,' the deck steward, makes us laugh with his hatred of them."⁷⁸ Perhaps the cruelties life heaped upon Billings created the worst demon of them all — the grinning, subtle kind of demon, slickly packaged using words and pictures and imprinted on readers' hearts and minds. If the person who acts as the final filter of a widely-read magazine harbors deep-seated racial prejudices, it becomes important to the impact the magazine has on the millions of people who see the pictures and read the stories.

Engulfing Southern Jew

On a train ride to Redcliffe in 1933, Billings was excited to see the land of his birth:

August 25, Wed. I popped up the shade and beheld my own, my native South Carolina (God bless her!) glowing in the misty morning sunlight. To outlanders the sight might appear dull and colorless; to me it is the most beautiful and thrilling in the world.⁷⁹

Billings did not have a Southern drawl, but his Southern sentiments ran deep. In his Time/Life office above his desk were two pictures, one the Confederate flag, the other a sketch of the cross-section of a ship with detailed instructions on how to completely pack a slave ship for maximum profit.⁸⁰ John Shaw Billings certainly held what an Edgefield, South Carolina, friend describes as "traditional Southern views"⁸¹ on African Americans—views that others might simply call "racist."

Billings hired African Americans not only as maids and drivers, but also to work on the restoration of the former slave-run plantation. For some of the workers, the task of returning it to its antebellum glory must have held bitter irony. He took many pictures of African Americans, often captioning them in the numerous photo albums he filled with scenes from his life. He saved a picture of Patience, one of the countless maids he hired and fired. The caption beneath her says "It sho' look like a monkey, but it look like me, too." Beneath two pictures of one of his black farm laborers taken in quick succession, Billings wrote: "What to do wit my hands? Fold 'em, like dis?"⁸²

In October of 1938, *Life*, under managing editor Billings, had a tremendous opportunity to help a nation divided by poverty and war learn more about African Americans. The magazine ran a lengthy essay titled "Negroes: the U.S. Also Has Minority Problem."⁸³ It was an important and unheard of approach. *Life's* fourteen-page article, with pictures by Alfred Eisenstaedt, provided for many a first view of a culture not normally portrayed in the white-owned and operated press. According to one writer, "It touched on the history, education, art, social stratification and progress of American blacks and ran a picture gallery of twenty of the most distinguished. The story was an earnest attempt to explore the big and difficult subject of blacks." The introductory text read: "They are also the most glaring refutation of the American fetish, that all men are created free and equal. The Negro may be free but...he is a minority more sharply set off then any of the world's other minorities."⁸⁴ The black press praised *Life* for its courage. Yet one can't help but feel that some creeping Southern sentiment under the racist baton of Billings insinuated itself into the fabric of what might otherwise have been a totally uplifting and educational piece. Beneath the picture of a young black woman singing was the caption, "As she sings with her eyes half-closed, her ecstatic face becomes the face of the American Negro finding in music and

religion his soul's two great consolations." The article was dotted with none-too-subtle racism. Under a small picture of two men loading cotton ran this legend: "Tote dat barge. Lift dat bale." Another caption, underneath a photo of men shooting dice, read: "Baby needs new shoes." Within the text of the article was this characterization: "...it must be remembered that the Negro is probably the most social and gregarious person in America. Nothing delights him more than a big lodge, with many a gold-braided official and many a high-sounding title."⁸⁵

In a country not yet ready for integration, *Life's* words and pictures, mass appeal and unique forum could have done much to help direct the conscience of a nation. Ultimately, Billings' racial prejudice proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back, triggering his resignation from the company in whose success he had played a major role.

Billings Walks Out Forever

Over the years, Luce had taken away Billings' editorial responsibilities, shoving him and his ideas aside, whenever Luce felt Billings was too even-handed. Luce had axes of his own to grind and had no problem asking Billings to get out of his way. Relations between the two men had become frostier and more remote over the years. Billing's former admiration souring to animosity. Luce had set the stage for Billings to walk out. Yet it was Billings' deep hatred of African Americans that tipped the scale and sent him running for his Southern refuge, Redcliffe. Billings was at his New York apartment, trying to enjoy a quiet evening with his wife:

After supper, Frederica discovered a loud and noisy party underway in the apartment across the back court - and the spectacle was pretty disgusting. Niggers right under our nose. Something clicked in my brain and I decided then and there, to solve our problems here by resigning from Time Inc. and retiring to Redcliffe for good. I shall move in that direction tomorrow.⁸⁶

The following day, Billings followed through on his resolution to resign:

Luce listened attentively and without interrupting. Finally he spoke: no great surprise to him. He could see I had to push myself to do things...He raised no objections to my going, nor did he say he was sorry.⁸⁷

Two weeks later, Billings was once again disappointed by the man who rarely said kind words to him and did nothing to fight his departure:

Certainly there was nothing ceremonial about it...He stuck out his hand and said, "Well, I'll be seeing you" and I marched out of his office for the last time. What a stinking parting. I was deeply depressed at his failure to say one kindly word in farewell...That 25 years of service should end on such a sour note was a keen disappointment. No wonder I hate Luce's guts for being a hard cold selfish devil.⁸⁸

Shortly thereafter, Luce dropped Billings' name from the masthead. After he left Time/Life forever, Billings still brooded. "I feel that Luce could have gotten so much more out of me in my dull plodding way if he had wanted to."⁸⁹

Billings spent his life making sense of his troubled world, avenging perceived wrongs and singling out people for special abuse, through the unique power he wielded combining the pictures he chose with the words he wrote and edited. Perhaps Billings found some measure of peace in his retirement and the dark forces that haunted him were at last exorcised. Death came to John Shaw Billings on Monday, August 25, 1975, in an Augusta, Georgia, hospital. His New York Times obituary says Billings died of kidney failure and pneumonia at 77.⁹⁰ He received a huge writeup in Time as "The Man Who Made Life."⁹¹ The article outlines Billings' career at Time/Life and defined his stature as a pioneer in the field of photojournalism. Edward Thompson, managing editor of Life from 1949 to 1961, said of Billings, "he lived his entire life by what landed on his desk. He interpreted the world as something he edited, whether text or pictures, he was an editor's editor."⁹²

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²⁴ JSB Diary, October 4, 1922. JSB Collection

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²⁶ JSB Diary, June 9, 1927. JSB Collection

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³⁰ JSB Diary, April 26, 1928. JSB Collection

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³² JSB Diary, April 27, 1929. JSB Collection

³³ JSB Diary, April 28, 1927. JSB Collection

³⁴ JSB Diary, November 26, 1921. JSB Collection

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³⁶ JSB Diary, May 13, 1928. JSB Collection

³⁷ JSB Diary, January 23, 1929. JSB Collection

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³⁹ JSB Diary, February 1, 1929. JSB Collection

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⁴¹ JSB Diary, February 14, 1929. JSB Collection

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⁴⁵ Elson, Robert T. *Time, Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 1923-1941*. (New York: Athenaeum, 1968) p. 163

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⁴⁹ JSB Diary, December 29, 1929. JSB Collection

⁵⁰ JSB Diary, January 30, 1929. JSB Collection

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⁹⁰ "John S. Billings of Life Is Dead: First Managing Editor Was 77." (New York: New York Times, August 27, 1975) p. 42

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ISSUES OF OPENNESS AND PRIVACY:
PRESS COVERAGE OF BETTY FORD'S BREAST CANCER

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RUNNING HEAD: ISSUES OF OPENNESS

First Ladies have rarely assumed their duties under less auspicious circumstances than did Elizabeth Bloomer Ford. In the wake of Richard Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, Gerald and Betty Ford confronted a demoralized White House staff, a suspicious, defensive press corps and a shocked and distracted Congress.¹ The timing was less than ideal from Mrs. Ford's personal standpoint. Weary of political life after her husband's thirteenth term in Congress, she only recently had extracted his promise that he would retire at the end of his next two-year term.² Her hopes for a quiet life outside Washington had been dashed when Spiro Agnew resigned and her husband had become Nixon's vice president. Plagued by osteoarthritis and a pinched nerve in her neck, she already was finding it difficult to fulfill her new obligations as wife of the Vice President.³ Within weeks, she would undergo major surgery for breast cancer.

By the time the Fords relinquished the White House to Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, however, Mrs. Ford had made a lasting and highly favorable impression on the American public. She had alerted other women to the benefits of early detection of breast cancer. She had spoken out for feminist causes and helped to secure higher and more responsible positions for women in government. During the Presidential election campaigns of 1976, her popularity had risen to the extent that many Ford campaign buttons read "Elect Betty's Husband" or "Keep Betty in the White House."⁴ When a sore throat prevented her husband from speaking at the end of the campaign, it was she who read the concession speech to their crushed supporters. In 1982, her accomplishments were ranked by a group of historians as sixth greatest among U.S. First Ladies.⁵

Most scholars who have examined Mrs. Ford's contributions as First Lady have emphasized her championship of feminist causes. Historian Lewis L. Gould, for example, saw Mrs. Ford as an "activist" in the mold of Eleanor Roosevelt.⁶ With Lady Bird Johnson

and Rosalynn Carter, he said, Mrs. Ford expanded the possibilities of the First Lady's role in the nation. Karen M. Rohrer, an archivist at the Gerald R. Ford Library, cited Mrs. Ford's considerable efforts on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment, which ranged from an information session on the subject for White House staffers to personal telephone calls to legislators on key committees.⁷ Leesa E. Tobin, also an archivist at the Ford library, suggested that Mrs. Ford's most important roles were securing political appointments for women and helping to legitimize feminist issues within the middle class.⁸ Both Tobin and feminist scholar Betty Boyd Caroli observed that few Washington insiders had expected Mrs. Ford to make much of a mark as First Lady. Tobin cited a *Washington Post* article from 1954, which asserted that "Mrs. Ford believes that wives of congressmen look better on a speaking platform when they're saying nothing."⁹ Caroli noted that Mrs. Ford applied the popular image of a Stepford Wives-style robot to herself when hearing of her husband's elevation to Vice President: "Just wind me up and point me in the right direction, and I'll be there."¹⁰ Mrs. Ford's own words seemed to condemn the notion that political wives should be more than attractive appendages or competent hand-shakers and hostesses.

The press's treatment of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy in September 1974, however, suggested a change of direction, both for Mrs. Ford and for the position of First Lady. Although the state of the President's health had been closely followed by the news media since Dwight D. Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955,¹¹ First Ladies had demanded and been accorded more privacy. In 1957, for example, when Mamie Eisenhower underwent a hysterectomy at Walter Reed Medical Hospital, reporters were told only that a gynecologist had performed "a two-hour operation . . . similar to those many women undergo in middle age."¹² In contrast, Mrs. Ford's admission to the hospital was announced before her biopsy took place. Moreover, the diagnosis and course of action were described to reporters while she was still on the operating table.¹³ Several scholars have discussed the importance of her openness about the mastectomy in helping to establish her popularity.¹⁴

Caroli, however, credits Mrs. Ford with acknowledging the truth but downplays her role in deciding how to treat the issue.¹⁵

Press coverage of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy merits a closer look for several reasons. First, coming so soon after her husband's elevation to President, the operation provided an early test of the Ford Administration and its press officers. Similarly, as a news event involving the First Family, it provided an opportunity for the White House press corps to adjust its reporting in the wake of Watergate. In addition, since the event focused directly on a First Lady still unfamiliar to the general public, it promised to set the stage for her future activities in the White House. Finally, while Mrs. Ford has been hailed as a role model for breast-cancer prevention, the implications of her operation for medical news coverage may not have been fully explored.

This study will attempt to answer the following questions: 1) What factors figured into the decision to break with tradition and "go public" with Mrs. Ford's story? 2) How did major newspapers cover the story? and 3) How did commentators and trade publications respond to the decision?

The study will focus on newspaper articles from five large and influential newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, beginning with the announcement of Mrs. Ford's biopsy on September 28, 1974, and continuing through October 31, two weeks after her return to the White House. In an effort to explain the decision favoring openness and the reaction that ensued, the study also will examine autobiographies of the Fords and their press secretaries, Ron Nessen and Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, and articles and comment in three media trade publications, *Broadcasting*, *Editor & Publisher*, and *The Columbia Journalism Review*.¹⁶

The Decision

Mrs. Ford was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital six weeks after her husband's swearing-in as President and only three weeks after his pardon of former President Nixon. The timing was significant and undoubtedly figured in decisions about how the operation was covered. The specter of Watergate loomed large over both the media and the new Administration the media sought to cover. Media trade publications of the day were filled with openness and access issues.¹⁷ Topics of intense debate included the frequency of White House news conferences, the format of the news conferences, and access rights to the Nixon White House tapes. The change in administration had brought new faces to the White House press corps, including that of National Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Ron Nessen. He and many of his colleagues had watched the reporters who covered Nixon get "scooped" on the Watergate story by the unlikely team of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. The newcomers were eager to prove themselves and determined not to repeat the mistakes of their predecessors.¹⁸ Their relationship with President Ford, however, had gotten off to a rocky start with Ford's pardon of Nixon. Jerald terHorst, a highly regarded print journalist who had worked as Ford's press secretary for less than a month, resigned in protest. A barrage of editorials criticizing Ford's decision ensued.¹⁹

The Fords were well aware of the need for change. Shortly after pardoning Nixon, President Ford held a press conference and pledged to be open and candid with the media. As his second press secretary, he chose Ron Nessen, whose skill and objectivity had impressed him even before Nessen's appointment by NBC as White House correspondent. Nessen quickly set out to mend Ford's relationships with reporters. During his first week on the job, he discussed with his staff ways to "give the appearance of being more open."²⁰ The President also worked to put symbolic distance between his Administration

and that of his predecessor. He banished electronic listening devices in the Oval Office and forbade the Marine band to play "Hail to the Chief."²¹ At the first gala social event he and Mrs. Ford held, the couple did not retire after the entertainment, as had been the Nixons' custom. Instead, the Fords remained with their guests and danced long into the night.²²

Similarly, Mrs. Ford's attitude toward the role of First Lady differed from that of Mrs. Nixon. Soon after the Nixons' departure, one holdover from their staff drew up a list of activities he considered appropriate for the new First Lady. The list included entertaining veterans, giving interviews to women's magazines, planning a fashion show and teaching Sunday School.²³ Mrs. Ford, however, soon gave notice that she had other ideas. At the first full-fledged press conference a First Lady had held since 1952, she told reporters she favored greater political participation by women, agreed with the recent Supreme Court decision on abortion, and planned to work for the Equal Rights Amendment. While recuperating from her mastectomy, she replaced two high-ranking members of Mrs. Nixon's staff with women of her own choosing. She also made changes to the White House living quarters. The former First Lady's bedroom was transformed into a study, and a double bed was placed in the President's bedroom.²⁴ The new arrangements ensured that Mrs. Ford had greater access to the President--and thus greater opportunity to influence him--than had her predecessor.

Though Mrs. Ford participated in decisions related to media coverage of her mastectomy, the extent of her involvement early in the process is unclear. Her own staff had not yet been appointed, so the matter was handled through Nessen, who regarded the situation as his "first crisis."²⁵ In his memoirs, Nessen recalled that he and the President decided to delay the announcement of Mrs. Ford's biopsy until she had completed her scheduled activities and entered the hospital. Nessen also took credit for making information and experts available to the press while the operation was still under way. "Except for the brief initial concealment, we made the decision to be extraordinarily candid and complete in reporting on her operation and aftermath. . . . We produced doctors for

briefings, which were so detailed and technical in parts that they might have stumped a medical class."²⁶ Gerald Ford's account of the event is consistent with Nessen's, though his emphasis is more on his feelings at the time and less on the decision-making process. Mrs. Ford's biography, however, suggests that the decision favoring openness was hers. "Lying in the hospital, thinking of all those women going to cancer checkups because of me, I'd come to recognize more closely the power of the women in the White House," she wrote. "Not my power, but the power of the position, a power which could be used to help."²⁷ Regardless of who made the decision, considerable detail about the operation, the medical decisions and treatment, and the patient's health status were provided to reporters starting in the late afternoon of September 28.²⁸ Had Mrs. Ford not concurred, the reports could have been stopped and the media asked to allow her more privacy. The reports did not stop. News updates and related information continued to flow from the hospital twice daily through October 3 and then once daily until her discharge.²⁹ She posed for photographers with her family and provided information to be used by reporters. As a result of the publicity, she received 55,800 cards and messages of goodwill from the general public. About ten percent of the personal letters came from women who had undergone a similar operation.³⁰

Newspaper Coverage

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer made headlines in leading newspapers across the country. The five newspapers examined for this study not only covered the story, but gave it prominent treatment. All five published at least three front-page articles about her illness during her two-week hospitalization. Those articles announced her biopsy, reported her mastectomy and discussed the finding that cancer had spread to her lymph nodes. All five newspapers also reported her return to the White House, though only *The Washington Post*

placed that news on its front page.³¹ All of the newspapers ran at least one photo of Mrs. Ford to accompany the mastectomy story.

The *Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* augmented their coverage with other front-page stories about her treatment or progress. Front-page placement occurred most often in the *Post*. The *Post* reported results from a new, National Cancer Institute study about the relative merits of three types of breast-cancer treatments.³² It followed two days later with criticisms of that study. After the White House released a photo of Mrs. Ford in her hospital bed reading a get-well card from the Senate, the *Post* placed that on its front page. The *Los Angeles Times* gave front-page placement to a story about the strain of Mrs. Ford's surgery on President Ford.³³ The *Los Angeles Times* also reprinted on its front page a *Post* article about Mrs. Ford's condition the day after her surgery.³⁴ It ran the White House photo of Mrs. Ford on its front page to accompany a United Press International story about her progress.³⁵ The *Chicago Tribune* gave front-page placement to a UPI story analyzing the possible effects of Mrs. Ford's health on the 1976 Presidential campaign.³⁶ In all, the *Post* ran seven front-page articles or photos; the *Los Angeles Times*, six; the *Chicago Tribune*, four; the *New York Times*, three; and the *Atlanta Constitution*, three.

Though news coverage of Mrs. Ford's breast cancer was widespread, newspapers differed in their focus. Some emphasized medical issues, while others looked more closely at political or human-interest angles. From the start, *The Washington Post* emphasized medical issues. On the same day it reported Mrs. Ford's admission to Bethesda Naval Hospital, for example, the *Post* published a companion article, "One Woman in 15 Develops Cancer of the Breast in U.S."³⁷ The article not only discussed the incidence of the disease but also the controversy surrounding radical mastectomies, and the development of demonstration centers to promote advanced breast-cancer detection techniques. Over the next three days, the *Post* provided two other medical companion pieces to its stories about

Mrs. Ford's surgery and progress.³⁸ In both cases, the stories ran under a common headline on the paper's front page accompanied by at least one photo.

The New York Times also emphasized medical issues, but it explored a broader range of angles. It was the only major newspaper examined to discuss the psychological effects of breast cancer³⁹ and the only one to publish an article with diagrams showing how to conduct a breast self-examination for potentially cancerous lumps.⁴⁰ *The New York Times* also reported on how the First Lady's illness affected her family, but it tended to carry such news as sidebars. The day after Mrs. Ford's surgery, for example, a short, United Press International article saying that her husband might choose not to run in the 1976 presidential election campaign was placed beneath a longer article detailing her condition and progress.⁴¹

The Los Angeles Times, in contrast, focused more on the President and political issues. On the day it reported Mrs. Ford's mastectomy, its major companion pieces dealt with the cost of her hospital suite, the President's reaction to her operation and his cancellation of a trip to the West. The story about costs noted that Mrs. Ford's five-room presidential suite would cost \$133 a day, a flat rate set for the use of the suite by civilian dependents of civilian VIPs.⁴² An article on the President's reaction to his wife's diagnosis appeared even higher on the front page than the news of her mastectomy. The article reported that "Gerald Ford showed his mettle" in speaking at the event despite the diagnosis of a malignancy. "His square-set shoulders were hunched over the microphone and his hand trembled as he turned the pages of manuscript," the article said. "But he kept his head down, and the only certain evidence of strong emotions held in check was an unaccustomed falter in the usually firm Midwestern tones."⁴³

Treatment of Mrs. Ford's operation in *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *Chicago Tribune* was more conventional than in the other papers. The *Constitution* tended to emphasize the human-interest angles of Mrs. Ford's operation. It devoted a separate article to Bob Hope's visit at Mrs. Ford's bedside⁴⁴ and was the only newspaper other than the

Post to carry articles about Susan Ford's efforts as White House hostess in her mother's absence.⁴⁵ Although the *Constitution* did publish a series of articles based on a new book about breast cancer, the series was not keyed to its stories about Mrs. Ford.⁴⁶ The *Constitution* published only one staff-written article related to breast cancer, which explained how to perform a breast self-examination.⁴⁷ Illustrations were omitted. The *Tribune* published the fewest articles related to Mrs. Ford's operation and generally emphasized her treatment and progress. Exceptions included two stories in the paper's "Metropolitan" section, one about women's increasing requests for breast examinations⁴⁸ and the other a report by its science editor on new cancer-detection techniques.⁴⁹

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer prompted news stories on a variety of medical issues, particularly in newspapers that employed science or medical writers. In Washington, D.C., news of Mrs. Ford's biopsy coincided with long-awaited results from a National Cancer Institute study of three breast-cancer treatment options. Medical writer Victor Cohn of *The Washington Post* quickly grasped the relevance of the study to the First Lady's situation, which he explained in an article titled "Study Questions Operation."⁵⁰ Other newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune*, followed with their own versions of the story.⁵¹ Cohn also wrote separate stories about the incidence of breast cancer among women in general and about criticisms of the Cancer Institute study. At *The New York Times*, veteran medical reporter Jane Brody filed five stories during Mrs. Ford's hospitalization.⁵² Her contributions included analyzing the new Cancer Institute study, explaining why fast action was important in breast cancer cases, and describing the increasing requests for appointments at breast cancer clinics. At the *Los Angeles Times*, medical writer Harry Nelson discussed treatment options and incorporated statistics in his highly detailed accounts of Mrs. Ford's operation and lab reports. The *Post* and *New York Times* also devoted separate articles to several less-commonly covered issues such as post-operative chemotherapy, the psychological effects of breast cancer and patient participation in decision-making. Among the most unusual articles was a first-person account of breast

cancer, "Breast Cancer Surgery," which appeared in the *Post's* "Outlook" section. The article explained the advantages and disadvantages of five types of breast-cancer surgery, described the author's difficulties in finding a suitable surgeon, and illustrated with a line drawing the position of the lymph nodes in relation to the breasts.⁵³

The Atlanta Constitution confined its discussion of medical issues primarily to a series of five articles written by Philip Strax, a medical doctor and author of the book, *Early Detection: Breast Cancer Is Curable*. The series, a condensation of the book in question-and-answer format, dealt with breast cancer issues such as self-examination, surgical options, personal risk, and incidence of the disease.⁵⁴ The *Constitution* also localized its coverage of the breast-cancer issue with a staff-written article describing a seminar on breast-cancer detection sponsored by a Cobb County hospital.⁵⁵

Commentary

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer drew considerable comment, from both editorial writers and newspaper readers. Three of the five newspapers reviewed for this study carried editorials related to Mrs. Ford's breast cancer. *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* each carried two. All of the editorials were complimentary to Mrs. Ford. "Mrs. Ford has set an admirable example in dealing forthrightly with an area still frequently beclouded by irrational flights from reality," said *The New York Times*, only one day after her operation. The *Times* noted that advances in research and increasing efforts at early detection had "dramatically improved the cancer victim's chances of return to full health."⁵⁶ When Happy Rockefeller, the wife of the Vice President-designate, detected a lump in her breast and underwent a mastectomy three weeks after Mrs. Ford's, the *Times* again stressed the advantages of early detection and praised both women for setting "an admirable example for the response to the disease with the means now available."⁵⁷ The *Chicago Tribune* likewise applauded the women's courage, saying they "had what it takes

to face a dreadful fact and act on it promptly. . . . They will now, we are sure, teach women everywhere [and men, too] the second part of this lesson: that the loss of a cancerous breast is not a life-shattering tragedy."⁵⁸ The *Tribune* also carried an editorial criticizing news coverage of the issue by columnist Mary McGrory of the Washington Star-News Syndicate. McGrory fretted about the effect of the publicity on the First Lady, observing that Mrs. Ford was not an elected official: "People say that since it's the First Lady, we have the right to know, but do we? What about her right to privacy?"⁵⁹ The *Atlanta Constitution* carried a short, staff-written editorial about Mrs. Ford on October 3. It called her "a woman of courage," noting not quite accurately that she "appeared at a Washington ceremony, smiling and gracious, after learning that she had breast cancer and faced an operation."⁶⁰

The *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* also published letters to the editor commenting on Mrs. Ford's breast cancer and the media's efforts to inform readers about the issues surrounding it. At least two letters noted that publicity of the operation had highlighted the need for regular medical check-ups and breast self-examinations.⁶¹ Other letters raised questions about the quality of breast-cancer research and treatment. One former breast-cancer patient described an article about surgical options in the *Post* as "informative and interesting. . . . I learned more from the article than from my surgeons," she wrote.⁶² Another *Post* reader commented on the standard biopsy-radical mastectomy chosen to treat Mrs. Ford:

Isn't it strange that with all the ingenious accomplishments to our nation's credit, our First Lady is still given a conventional treatment used 22 year ago, and for that matter, many decades before that, to assure the cure for the illness? . . . Contrary to the ad which proclaims that we women "have come a long way," breast cancer treatment generally seems stymied on the doorstep to the twentieth century. Are our priorities out of line?⁶³

A reader of the *Los Angeles Times* proposed that the federal government inaugurate a cancer-detection campaign to help stamp out breast cancer and that it provide the testing without charge.⁶⁴

Though letters to the editor often praised Mrs. Ford, some readers were concerned about the effect of the extensive news coverage on her well-being or that of other cancer patients. "Do you think it is important that the whole world know of her misfortune?" asked a *Los Angeles Times* reader. "This is a very private and traumatic experience and should be handled with delicacy."⁶⁵ A *Post* reader questioned that paper's use of cancer-survival statistics. "I am a cancer patient under care at NIH," she wrote. "Until I read your paper I had thought that my chances were very good of leading a normal life."⁶⁶ One of the most blistering commentaries on press coverage came from Mary Foley, then president of the National Student Nurses Association. She decried the "sports event" atmosphere surrounding Mrs. Ford's surgery and called the publication of details related to the First Lady's diagnosis and prognosis a "serious breach of medical ethics. . . . Even the President was subject to hearing first-hand reports of his wife's condition on the radio or TV, handled in a very impersonal and unprofessional way."⁶⁷

While readers were busy discussing the levels of press coverage accorded the First Lady's operation and raising questions about related issues, media trade publications were largely preoccupied with Watergate and the Nixon tapes controversy. Nevertheless, several articles in *Broadcasting*, *Editor & Publisher* or *Columbia Journalism Review* dealt with Mrs. Ford or breast-cancer issues. The most directly relevant appeared in *Editor & Publisher* under the headline "Breast Cancer Stories Have News Interest." The article described information available to reporters from the American Cancer Society and provided comment from medical writers and Cancer Society officials. Jane Brody, a reporter for the *New York Times* described the audience for her stories as "captive." "I had no trouble at all getting the space I felt the breast cancer stories needed."⁶⁸ A wire service reporter attributed the public's interest as "a combination of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy and the NIH report suggesting a less radical surgical procedure might produce results just as good as the traditional operation."⁶⁹ Marv Munro, director of public information of the New York City division of the American Cancer Society, said media coverage on breast cancer

had been responsible and "contributed substantially in motivating women in getting examinations."⁷⁰ The article carried advice from the Society's director of press suggesting that the use of the word "breakthrough" be banned from cancer coverage. The trouble with some reporting, he said, is that reports of advances are sometimes exaggerated and give readers false hope. The article also noted that some newspapers had elected not to use pictures of breasts.⁷¹

Broadcasting followed closely Ron Nessen's activities as press secretary and Gerald Ford's efforts to court the media but took no notice of Mrs. Ford's breast cancer or media coverage of related issues. *Columbia Journalism Review* also ignored Mrs. Ford. Its publication of a scathing attack on the medical bureaucracy in January 1975, however, might have been prompted by the news stories she generated. The article, by the publisher of a Washington-based newsletter, *Science & Government Report*, questioned the medical bureaucracy's insistence on "cautious optimism" in the nation's widely publicized war on cancer. Using American Cancer Society statistics, the article argued that cancer survival rates had risen from about one in five in the 1930s to one in three by the mid-1970s but that much of the improvement stemmed from the postwar introduction of antibiotics and blood transfusions. Thus, more patients were not surviving cancer, but rather cancer operations that previously killed them. "It is useful to contemplate certain curious and gruesome parallels that are beginning to appear between the reporting of this 'war' and the early bulletins from Vietnam," he wrote.⁷² The Cancer Society's heated reply appeared as a letter to the editor in the following issue of the *Review*. Written by the Society's science editor, the letter challenged the publisher's scientific credentials, cited Society efforts to prevent cancer and improve cancer detection, and blamed patients for the disappointing improvements in survival. "Omitted in the article is the essential fact that it would be possible to save one in two patients if they would do for themselves what they can, using knowledge we have in hand today regarding early diagnosis, and known, effective treatment," the editor wrote.⁷³ *The Washington Post* picked up the Greenberg story in

mid-January 1975. Over the next three years, its coverage of cancer issues gradually increased. According to the *Washington Post Index*, the *Post* published 435 articles about cancer between 1975 and 1977, compared with 217 in the three years preceding Mrs. Ford's surgery. News coverage of cancer topics at *The New York Times* also increased after Mrs. Ford's operation. The *Times* index listings for the topic cancer totaled 38 columns between 1975 to 1977 compared with 30 columns between 1971 and 1973.

Conclusions

The treatment of Betty Ford's breast cancer story marked a substantial shift in news coverage of the White House. Reporters' close attention to the First Lady's surgery, including its emotional impact on her husband and family, expanded the watchdog function of the White House press corps beyond the Presidency itself. The scope of coverage suggested that all of the people and events surrounding the President stood to influence him and, by extension, the welfare of the nation. Thus, all such people and events were newsworthy. The occurrence of Mrs. Ford's surgery so soon after Watergate, the new Administration's need to shed the trappings of Nixon's "imperial Presidency" and Mrs. Ford's own personality and inclination toward openness all figured in the change of direction.

In addition, news coverage of Mrs. Ford's breast cancer helped to expand the range of subjects that newspapers felt comfortable in discussing. Major newspapers paid close attention to her diagnosis, treatment and progress and often displayed their stories prominently. Some also delved into a wide variety of related medical issues. The issues most frequently covered included incidence, survival rates, early detection and treatment options. The novelty of breast-cancer surgery as a front-page topic is suggested by editorial writers' frequent allusions to Mrs. Ford's openness or courage. Yet while readers

sometimes criticized the intensity with which Mrs. Ford's operation was covered, the propriety of breast cancer as a news topic rarely was questioned. Even the publication of breast illustrations seemed to raise few eyebrows. Readers were more likely to comment on the stories' helpfulness or informational value. Medical writers and trade publications alike noted the fascination that the breast cancer stories held for the general public.

Media and public response to Mrs. Ford's breast cancer also set the stage for changes in medical journalism. In bringing down the wall of silence surrounding breast cancer, newspaper coverage of Mrs. Ford's ordeal opened the way for further public discussion about breast cancer and other taboo health topics. Taking her cue from Mrs. Ford, Happy Rockefeller chose to go public with her breast cancer surgery a few weeks after Mrs. Ford's operation. By the 1980s, as Ronald Reagan's physical examinations would illustrate, not even intestinal polyps were considered off limits.⁷⁴ News coverage about Mrs. Ford also highlighted the potential of newspapers as a channel for encouraging healthy behaviors. It suggested that the First Family and other newsmakers could function as role models, as did Mrs. Ford in promoting the value of periodic breast examinations by medical professionals. Finally, reader enthusiasm for information about breast cancer helped to elevate medicine from specialized columns on the inside pages of newspapers to front-page news. As suggested by the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, cancer increased in importance as a news topic in the wake of Mrs. Ford's operation. The event thus provided opportunities for reporters interested in writing about public health, many of whom were women. At the *New York Times*, for example, Jane Brody's articles on medical topics attracted a large following. Her writings on health and nutrition later were syndicated, which led to several books and a television series.⁷⁵ Today's journalists are more inclined than their predecessors of the pre-Ford era to view medical news as major news. The public, consequently, is better informed about health-related issues.

Footnotes

¹For further explanation of the media situation, see Mark J. Rozell, *The Press and the Ford Presidency* (Ann Arbor, 1992). For a description of the White House staff, see Ron Nessen, *It Sure Looks Different from the Inside* (New York, 1978), chapters 1-3.

²Betty Ford with Chris Chase, *The Times of My Life* (New York, 1978), p. 142.

³Ford, p. 150.

⁴Ford, p. 258.

⁵Thomas Kelly and Douglas Lonnstrom, published in Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York, 1987), p. 385.

⁶Lewis L. Gould, "Modern First Ladies in Historical Perspective," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 15(1985), pp. 532-540.

⁷Karen M. Rohrer, "If There Was Anything You Forgot to Ask . . .": The Papers of Betty Ford," *Prologue* 19 (1987), pp. 143-153.

⁸Leesa E. Tobin, "Betty Ford as First Lady: A Woman for Women," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 20 (1990), pp. 761-767.

⁹Tobin, p. 761.

¹⁰Caroli, p. 248.

¹¹Myron K. Jordan, "Presidential Health Reporting: The Eisenhower Watershed," *American Journalism* 4,3 (1987), pp. 133-146.

¹²Caroli, p. 217.

¹³Nessen, p. 22.

¹⁴Paul F. Boller, Jr., *Presidential Wives* (New York, 1988), p. 426; Caroli, p. 302; Rohrer, pp. 145-146.

¹⁵Caroli, p. 302.

¹⁶This group of publications includes two national news dailies, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, which help to set the rhythm of Washington news, and three big city newspapers that are trend-setters with their regions. The trade publications chosen reflect print, broadcast and general journalistic perspectives.

¹⁷Examples include Jane Levere, "President Ford Pledges "Openness and Candor," *Editor & Publisher* (17 August 1974), 7; "Media Manipulation by the President?" *Broadcasting* (21 October 1974), 42-43; and "Media Groups Press Congress for Information Veto Override," *Editor & Publisher* (26 October 1974), 7.

- ¹⁸Nessen, p. 29.
- ¹⁹Rozell, p. 53.
- ²⁰Nessen, p. 18.
- ²¹Gerald R. Ford, *A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford* (New York, 1979), p. 126.
- ²²Gerald R. Ford, p. 141.
- ²³Tobin, p. 762.
- ²⁴Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, *First Lady's Lady* (New York, 1979), p. 38.
- ²⁵Nessen, p. 19.
- ²⁶Nessen, p. 22.
- ²⁷Betty Ford, p. 194.
- ²⁸Nessen, p. 22.
- ²⁹"Betty Ford 'Ahead' in Her Recovery," *Atlanta Constitution*, 4 October 1974, 9-A.
- ³⁰Rohrer, p. 145.
- ³¹A large photo of the President, Mrs. Ford, and Susan Ford ran on A1; the related article, on A2.
- ³²Victor Cohn, "Study Questions Operation," *Washington Post*, 29 September 1974, A1.
- ³³John Saar, "Wife 'Would Want Me Here,' Somber Ford Tells Summit," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 1.
- ³⁴Stuart Auerbach, "Mrs. Ford Tired but Takes a Few Steps," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 September, 1974, sec. 1, p. 1.
- ³⁵"Mrs. Ford Glad Her Illness May be Aiding Others," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 October 1974, sec. 1, p. 1.
- ³⁶"Ford Hints '76 Switch Because of Wife," *Chicago Tribune*, 30 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 1.
- ³⁷Victor Cohn, *Washington Post*, 28 September 1974, A12.

³⁸Cohn, "Study Questions . . .," A1; Cohn, "Surgery Study Hit," *Washington Post*, 1 October 1974, A1.

³⁹Judy Klemesrud, "After Breast Cancer Operations, A Difficult Emotional Adjustment," *New York Times*, 1 October 1974, sec. 1, p. 46.

⁴⁰Nancy Hicks, "Lesson on Examining Breasts Draws Crowd," *New York Times*, 19 October 1974, sec. 1, p. 32.

⁴¹"Ford Hints at Change In '76 Election Plans," *New York Times*, 30 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 27.

⁴²"Ford Suite's Cost Put at \$133 a Day," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 16.

⁴³Saar, "Wife 'Would Want Me . . .," sec. 1, p. 1.

⁴⁴"Mrs. Ford Delighted by Bob Hope Visit," *Atlanta Constitution*, 6 October 1974, 2-A.

⁴⁵"Ford, 17-Year-Old Susan Host Diplomatic Corps," *Atlanta Constitution*, 6 October 1974, 2-A; "Susan Ford Substitutes as Reception's Hostess," *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 October 1974, 2-B.

⁴⁶Philip Strax, "Breast Cancer Uncommon; Fear Is Not," *Atlanta Constitution*, 1 October 1974, 6-B; Philip Strax, "There's No Way To Predict," *Atlanta Constitution*, 2 October 1974, 13-B; Philip Strax, "Lump Usually Non-Cancerous," *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 October 1974, 5-C; Philip Strax, "Self-Examine Breasts Each Month," *Atlanta Constitution*, 4 October 1974, 3-C; Philip Strax, "Deciding Type of Surgery," *Atlanta Constitution*, 5 October 1974, 9-B.

⁴⁷Kaye Cagle, "More Checking For Cancer Now," *Atlanta Constitution*, 4 October 1974, 9-A.

⁴⁸Brenda Stone, "Thousands Seek Breast Cancer Examinations and Information," *Chicago Times*, 3 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ronald Kotulak, "Detection Plan Raises Hopes in Cancer Fight," *Chicago Times*, 4 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 1.

⁵⁰Cohn, "Study Questions . . .," A1.

⁵¹Kotulak, "Detection Plan . . .," sec. 2, p. 1.

⁵²Carla Marie Rupp, "Breast Cancer Stories Have News Interest," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 October 1974, 22.

⁵³Rose Kushner, "Breast Cancer Surgery," *Washington Post*, 6 October 1974, C1.

⁵⁴See footnote 44.

- ⁵⁵Cagle, "More Checking . . .," 9-A.
- ⁵⁶"Mrs. Ford's Ordeal," *New York Times*, 30 September 1974, sec.1, p. 34.
- ⁵⁷"Courage vs. Cancer," *New York Times*, 18 October 1974, sec. 1, p. 40.
- ⁵⁸"Two Courageous Women," *Chicago Tribune*, 21 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 2.
- ⁵⁹Mary McGrory, "Betty's Brought Us Together," *Chicago Tribune*, 7 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 4.
- ⁶⁰"A Woman of Courage," *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 October 1974, 4-A.
- ⁶¹Judy Ross and Etha Bradford in "Mrs. Ford's Mastectomy," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 4.
- ⁶²Mary A. VanSant in "Mrs. Ford's Operation," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1974, A21.
- ⁶³Miriam Wiener in "Mrs. Ford's Operation," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1974, A21.
- ⁶⁴Freda G. Olmstead in "Mrs. Ford's Mastectomy," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 4.
- ⁶⁵Anne Stewart in "Mrs. Ford's Mastectomy," *Los Angeles Times* 3 October 1974, sec. 2, p. 4.
- ⁶⁶Anneliese M. Mitchell in "Mrs. Ford's Operation," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1974, A21.
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- ⁶⁸Carla Marie Rupp, "Breast Cancer Stories . . .," 22.
- ⁶⁹Carla Marie Rupp, "Breast Cancer Stories . . .," 22.
- ⁷⁰Carla Marie Rupp, "Breast Cancer Stories . . .," 24.
- ⁷¹Carla Marie, Rupp, "Breast Cancer Stories . . .," 24.
- ⁷²Daniel S. Greenberg, "A Critical Look at Cancer Coverage," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February 1975, 40.
- ⁷³Alan C. Davis, "ACS Defends 'Cautious Optimism,'" *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1975, 61.

⁷⁴See, for example, Henry Fairlie, "Political Ailments: King Ron and His Royal Polyps," *The New Republic*, 12 August 1985, 8-9.

⁷⁵Anastasia Toufexis, "See Jane Run (And Do Likewise); Columnist Brody Hectors Americans Into Better Habits," *Time*, 10 November 1986, 98.

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Abstract

The present research attempts to explore how the Japanese-language press in the United States covered World War II and subsequent Japanese mass evacuation and how it fulfilled the major functions of the ethnic press. This study conducted a qualitative content analysis of three Japanese papers -- the Rocky Nippon, Doho, and Utah Nippo -- between early 1941 and mid-1942 and concludes that each paper assumed particular roles but all similarly accepted evacuation with little resistance.

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**The Japanese-Language Press and the Government's Decision
of the Japanese Mass Evacuation During World War II:
Three Japanese Newspapers' Reception of the War,
the Japanese Americans' Wartime Status, and the Evacuation¹**

I. The Purpose, Significance and Method of this Study

On February 19, 1942, some two months after the Pearl Harbor attack, President Franklin D. Roosevelt promulgated Executive Order 9066 that eventually forced more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry² on the West Coast to move to inland "relocation centers."³ This mass evacuation was implemented during 1942 and thus the civil rights and liberties⁴ of the Japanese Americans (of them about two-thirds were American citizens) were systematically restricted without a benefit of trial and without any evidence of conspiracy or subversion in the name of military safety and prevention of sabotage and espionage.⁵ The evacuation continued until the end of the war.

There is a great amount of previous literature on the Japanese evacuation, and they provide a general conclusion that the government's policy was approved, or even strongly supported, from almost all aspects of the society, causing what many contemporary historians regard as one of the "dark spots" in the U.S. history.⁶ The press was not an exception. Previous studies demonstrate that the domestic major press in general approved the evacuation⁷ and that even the liberal press did not effectively oppose to it.⁸ The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in its 1982 final report also listed the lack of strong opposition from the press among the conditions which resulted in the government's decision of mass evacuation.⁹

Put under such a disastrous situation, how did the news media of the Japanese Americans cover that tragedy? While previous studies provide much knowledge about the responses of the English-language press, little is known about the Japanese-language press which most directly underwent the evacuation.¹⁰ Among the most essential functions of the ethnic press are to survey the situation of the outer world, to encourage the assimilation process

of the ethnic group, to maintain and correlate the community, and to preserve its cultural system and ethnic identity.¹¹ But which function(s), and how, did the Japanese-language papers assume during the most critical period in the history of their ethnic community? The present research is dedicated to explore these research questions by conducting a qualitative content analysis of three Japanese-language papers: the Rocky Nippon, Doho, and Utah Nippo.

The present study chose these three papers for some reasons. First, they exceptionally continued publishing after the outbreak of the war. As soon as the war broke, the U.S. authority froze the property of the Japanese and detained some 2,000 Japanese community leaders including many newspapermen, forcing most Japanese periodicals to discontinue. The following evacuation and internment prevented them from restarting until the end of the war. But the Rocky Nippon and Utah Nippo exceptionally kept operating during the evacuation period.¹² Although the Doho discontinued after the issue of May 4, 1942 and never reopened, it still survived longer than most others.¹³ During the most critical days for the Japanese Americans, these three papers were virtually the only public information sources and forums for the troubled Japanese community.

Furthermore, their characteristic variety in history, editorial orientation, audience, circulation size, and location can provide wider insight to the understanding of the wartime Japanese press. The Doho started in 1937 as a semi-monthly opinion newspaper with a strong pro-labor, anti-fascism orientation. Every issue contained editorials and was read mostly by the Kibei and Issei around Los Angeles. In contrast, the Rocky Nippon and Utah Nippo, established by Issei publishers in 1933 and 1914 respectively, were more like general community papers. The two served mainly for the local Issei and reflected their general sympathy to Japan. In the early 1940s, it is estimated that the Doho and Utah Nippo sold some 1,000 copies, and the Rocky Nippon sold some 10,000.¹⁴ The difference of their locality is an important factor, too. The Doho was distributed mostly around Los Angeles where the population of the Japanese was dense but the anti-Oriental feeling was historically strong. While most of the Doho's readers were evacuated, the

Japanese originally living in Utah and Colorado were allowed to stay home. The public climate in Denver and Salt Lake City, home cities of the Rocky Nippon and Utah Nippo, was relatively calm and tolerant to the Japanese before, during, and after the war.¹⁵

For the judgment of their editorial stance, the present study regards editorials as the most important indicator. But other columns, articles, news items, and advertisements are also taken into consideration. All papers had both Japanese and English sections, and this study analyzes both. Although the core time frame is set between December 1941 and May 1942 (when the implementation of the evacuation began), this research examines their pre-war coverage as well.

II. The Rocky Nippon

The Rocky Nippon was founded in 1933 by members of a Buddhist organization in Denver.¹⁶ The paper's religious orientation was not very strongly reflected upon its news reporting. But the paper regularly published the Denver Buddhist Association's calendar and other related information, and sometimes it discussed the war problems in the context of the Buddhist faith. The paper was primarily serving for the Issei, and it was not until October 1941 that the English section, or called the Nisei Tribune, was created for Nisei readers. The paper was bi-weekly when the war broke and turned tri-weekly from May 4 next year. During this study's time frame, it was uncommon that the Rocky Nippon articulated its editorial position in editorials. But news articles and columns reflected how the paper viewed the deteriorating U.S.-Japan relations, outbreak of the war, wartime status of the Japanese, and government's enemy aliens policy.

The paper's pe-war coverage during 1941 demonstrates the paper's strong sympathy with the Axis nations.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the Rocky Nippon was anxious about the sharpening U.S.-Japan relations and hoped a war would be avoided.¹⁸ The English section, the Nisei Tribune, however, displayed quite a contrasting stance. The Nisei Tribune was far more critical to Japan and was instead fairly patriotic to the United States and even seemed to favor

interventionism.¹⁹ The Nisei Tribune once denounced the Axis as "dictators or militarists" and argued that the Nisei must fight for "our rights, the rights of every free people."²⁰ Despite the Nisei editors' resolution to connect their ideas with their parents',²¹ the Nisei Tribune's pre-war editorial policy differentiated much with that of the Issei's Japanese section.

After the war broke, the Rocky Nippon was filled with the war-related news, especially ones concerning the Japanese Americans, and with various advice and directions for the troubled Japanese community. These articles reflected the paper's thinking about how the Japanese, who now became enemy aliens, should behave in that hazardous situation. The December 19 issue ran a message that said the Japanese would be protected by the authority and therefore they must prevent rumors and do their best for fulfilling their own duties.²² The same issue listed five things that Buddhists ought to consider in time of war. Among them were: to serve for the U.S., to endure difficulties, and to think about the public interest first and personal interest last.²³ In trust of the government, the Rocky Nippon expected the Japanese Americans to show responsibility and endurance as sedate and loyal U.S. citizens.

On the other hand, the English section was much more excited about the war. The December 16 issue announced the paper's full support of the U.S. war effort. Unlike the Issei's Rocky Nippon, the patriotic Nisei Tribune clearly recognized their parents' mother nation as an enemy, declaring the determination to fight "till each of us is dead in the defense of our country" against any nation "whether it be the nation from which our parents immigrated."²⁴ But Nisei editors understood well that not only their parents but also their own generation were being put under a tough situation due to their racial origin. But the solution to which they reached was self-directed in its character: "It is up to each of us as loyal citizens to go forth to defend our nation and our ideals. ... THUS there can be but one way in which we can prove ourselves. ... LET US LEAD OUR FELLOW AMERICANS IN THE BATTLE OF THE FREE AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS."²⁵ The paper's vigorous patriotism conformed to that of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), with which the Nisei

Tribune was affiliated.²⁶

Despite these differences, the Issei and Nisei editors were in full agreement that the Japanese Americans in wartime must willfully cooperate with the government. They displayed little opposition when the government started to impose restrictions on enemy aliens after the Pearl Harbor incident. The authority for instance required the Japanese in Colorado to get a permission when travelling more than 20 miles. The Rocky Nippon of January 27 said the Japanese must abide by the new rule and further try best not to bother the authority.²⁷ Neither did the paper show any negative attitude to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's immediate arrest of more than 2,000 Japanese after the Pearl Harbor attack.²⁸ The paper was also collaborative with the authority's efforts to confiscate guns, short-wave radios, or cameras from the Japanese.²⁹ And in many occasions the paper urged readers to submit an advance notice to the authority when gathering an assembly.³⁰ Throughout the present research's time frame, the paper in a similar tone kept calling for the Japanese Americans to show their best cooperation and self-restraints.³¹

Not surprisingly, the Rocky Nippon was fairly uncritical to the establishment of military zones and consequent mass evacuation. The government's first announcement of evacuation was reported in a non-editorialized news brief on the third page of the March 3 issue,³² and the following reports of actual implementation were largely treated in the same manner.³³ Rather the paper was more interested in aiding the evacuees than debating the righteousness or justifiability of evacuation itself. The issue of February 24 commented that the Japanese in Colorado must warmly accept evacuees from the West Coast and demanded the readers to share the evacuees' hardship as the people of the same national origin.³⁴ As they began settling in the "assembly centers" by June, the Rocky Nippon let many of them appear in the paper. Yet complaints or dissatisfactions were rarely expressed.³⁵ Most evacuees provided observatory descriptions of camp life, Japanese verses, poems, and other noncontroversial items only.

The Nisei Tribune shared much of the Issei's uncritical stance to the administration's enemy aliens policy. From December to January, the Nisei

Tribune emphasized that what the Nisei could do to the militant anti-Japanese public mood was not to claim their rights or make protests but to prove their loyalty and perseverance,³⁶ stating "we should think less of our own enjoyment or liberties"³⁷ The editors followed the JACL's full loyalty and cooperation campaign,³⁸ and for them the national defense had to come first than their own freedom and rights. The most symbolic statement was the January 27 editorial, which read: "YOUR SOCIAL LIFE MAY BE SHOT TO PIECES -- BUT BELIEVE ME -- IT'S BETTER TO HAVE YOUR SOCIAL LIFE BE SHOT TO PIECES -- THAN THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY."³⁹ Based on such attitude, when the evacuation was actually carried out, the Nisei Tribune accepted it as a fait accompli. The paper rather chose to look toward the future problems than questioning the cause of the government's decision. For example, editor Masako Kato once introduced a letter from a Nisei college student, which, Kato agreed, read: "What I am most worried about now is not the evacuation. It's what's going to happen to us after the war is over."⁴⁰ It must have been natural for young Nisei editors to feel uneasy more about the forthcoming hardships with which they would have to cope than about the righteousness or validity of mass evacuation. For the Nisei Tribune, the evacuation was not what they could resist or protest against but a harsh, cold reality which their generation had to accept as such and overcome with determined efforts.

But what was unique about the Rocky Nippon's obedience to the government's policy was its connection with the Japanese ethnic values, pride, and Buddhist faith. The paper's regular columnist Hatsuichiro Kodama once wrote that the Japanese Americans could learn the significance of self-restraints from the altruistic virtue of the Japanese military.⁴¹ Often Kodama also displayed his strong ethnic identity as a Japanese. He once contended that, although the Japanese as enemy aliens must obey their own evacuation and internment, they must not forgive those who ridicule their loyalty and past achievements.⁴² The paper also tended to apply the Buddhist faith to its reception of evacuation. Most typically, the June 26 issue ran a message from the Denver Buddhist Association's preacher, in which he encouraged the evacuees to preserve their ethnic pride by demonstrating endurance at the

center of great hardship.⁴³

Despite such full reception of evacuation, the paper in some very limited occasions attempted to advocate the rights of the Japanese and to express dissatisfaction to the outer society. Yet the tone was kept to be fairly indirect. The Nisei Tribune remarked as follows: "We may be nisei, but WE ARE AMERICANS, too. Let us stick to our democratic rights and be willing to make personal sacrifices for our own gain and for [the nation]."⁴⁴ But it is noteworthy that what preceded this remark was a story about an able black girl's suffering of discrimination in her college admission but not about the suffering of the Japanese themselves. In other cases the paper expressed its outcry against inequality and prejudice by borrowing words from someone else. The paper's favorite was the Colorado governor Ralph C. Carr, who was renowned for his exceptional generosity to the Japanese.⁴⁵ The June 17 issue, for example, quoted Carr's speech and commented that he "spoke righteously as usual" that the Japanese must be treated equally as the other U.S. citizens.⁴⁶

During this study's time frame, the paper only once displayed its enraged sentiment openly. But even that fell short of questioning the fundamentals of mass evacuation per se. Rather the paper chose to appeal fair assessment for the Japanese Americans' full and loyal cooperation to their evacuation. The June 17 issue of the Nisei Tribune read:

Though our position is a very delicate one, ... we cannot continue to stand meekly by, while the news editors and politicians take for granted that our rights as citizens were automatically revoked with advent of military law on the West Coast. ... One must remember that they are Americans, being sent to live in a guarded camp. ... [T]hey went to the camps with the idea that they too were helping in the war effort by going into the camps. ... When people complain of "Those Jap Aliens" being too well treated ..., it is our duty to see that such statements are duly corrected ⁴⁷

Thus, the Rocky Nippon and the Nisei Tribune alike, cooperatively accepted the evacuation and other governmental regulations. The editors intended neither to claim their civil liberties nor to inform their discontents or disappointments to the outer society. The paper's protesting attitude against the racial prejudice and unfairness was only implied indirectly without any critical statement concerning the administration's

policy itself. But the paper's uniqueness was that such passive and self-directed attitude was linked with the traditional Buddhist and Japanese virtues such as self-victimization, mutual help and perseverance. By justifying their reception of evacuation by their own ethnic values, the paper could at least maintain their ethnic identity and pride for past achievements. Along with the justification by the traditional Japanese values, the paper's uncritical reception of evacuation could also be explained by such factors as anti-Japanese war hysteria, inferiority sentiment as enemy aliens,⁴⁸ pressure to prove their doubted loyalty, anxiety for future hardships, or fear against the authority.⁴⁹

III. The Doho

The Doho, which means "comrade" in Japanese, was founded in 1937 by Shuji Fujii as an opinion paper mainly reflecting the viewpoints of the Kibei with communist political orientation.⁵⁰ In the early 1941, the paper was bi-monthly and from the March 1 issue added a page of English section, which shared the same editorial stance with the Japanese section. All through the year, the biggest concern of the Doho was the sharpening U.S.-Japan relations.

The Doho consistently opposed to the Japanese expansion over Asia. It repeatedly denounced Japan's foreign policy as that of fascism, militarism, anti-democracy and called for immediate withdrawal from China and reversal of all other aggressive ambitions.⁵¹ Meanwhile, the Doho declared all-out endorsement to the FDR's domestic and international policies.⁵²

With harsh criticism against Tokyo, the paper urged the Issei, Nisei, and the JACL to strive for the betterment of the U.S.-Japan relations. The Issei and Nisei had to unite as loyal residents of the U.S. and work together for the grass-root diplomacy.⁵³ In order to make the campaign successful, the Doho contended, all Japanese Americans must recognize their belonging to the U.S. and exclude all pro-Japan activities such as war contributions to Japan from their own community.⁵⁴ Naturally, the paper was fairly favorable to the government's decision in July to freeze the Japan's credit and property.⁵⁵

The Doho's founder and leading editorial writer Shuji Fujii developed

especially harsh criticism to those who he believed were leaning toward fascist, militarist belief or those who were trying to "Japanize" the otherwise loyal and innocent Issei and Nisei.⁵⁶ On this ground, the Doho was very willing to aid the administration to single out the allegedly militaristic, pro-Axis elements from the Japanese community. The May 15 issue editorialized: "Without rooting out Japan's war machine and its work among our people, pledges [of loyalty] and rallies are meaningless. Without removing this menace, the Americanization of issei or nisei can hardly be achieved. [Unless this will be done,] the status of us -- the majority -- will continue in jeopardy."⁵⁷

Since September, the Doho became tri-monthly and its contents came to reflect its mounting anxiety over the further strain of the U.S.-Japan relations. The September 1 issue read: "Great anxiety is prevalent among the issei populace, and hope is being expressed that their civil and democratic rights will not be jeopardized."⁵⁸ The Doho intensified the campaign to stimulate readers to pledge full cooperation with the Washington's anti-Axis policy,⁵⁹ arguing that under the current circumstances nothing was desired more immediately than "thorough Americanization of the issei and nisei."⁶⁰ The paper also came to condemn the pro-Japan elements even more vigorously. It said that a handful of them were threatening the safety of the overwhelming majority of other law-abiding loyal Japanese.⁶¹ To cope with their ever-worsening social status, stressed the paper, the Japanese needed to make their loyalty thoroughly clear by distinguishing themselves from the pro-Axis, fifth column elements.⁶² Only by doing so could they avoid the governmental restrictions; on the contrary, shying away from doing so was itself an irresponsible and disloyal act.⁶³ The paper's pre-war coverage can be thus characterized by its consistent emphasis upon the responsibilities of the Japanese with little attempt to appeal their freedom and civil rights.⁶⁴

After the war suddenly broke, the Doho issued six war extras consecutively on December 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, and 18.⁶⁵ The substance of these extra issues obviously coincided with the paper's pre-war patriotic anti-Fascism stance, and they set the basic editorial direction that the paper

would follow until its discontinuation in May.

The first war extra of December 7 reconfirmed the Doho's 100 percent Americanism. Asserting that the Japan's sudden attack could never be justified, the paper defined the war as that of between Japanese fascism and American democracy and argued all Japanese Americans must do everything for the complete defeat of fascist Japan.⁶⁶ The paper also informed that the publisher Shuji Fujii sent loyalty-pledging telegrams to President Roosevelt and other high-ranking government and state officials.⁶⁷

The paper stated that the immediate need was to protect the "loyal" Japanese. But it instead justified total suppression of the allegedly "disloyal." The December 13 issue supported the FBI's round-ups of Japanese community leaders and demanded the JACL to replace the community leadership and to exert the total expulsion of pro-Axis elements.⁶⁸ To the paper, mere expression of cooperation did not suffice. The Japanese must prove that their loyalty was genuine, monolithic, and sincere by publicly criticizing their own past shortcomings and by uncompromisingly liquidating the "disloyal" from within. Such argument was reiterated in the following war extras.⁶⁹

After the sixth war extra on December 18, the Doho was published on a weekly basis. Although the new year saw the intensifying anti-Japanese public climate and consequent rise of the probability of mass evacuation, the Doho's standpoint showed little change. To the Doho, genuine loyalty meant more than mere expression; it had to accompany with voluntary actions and even self-victimization for the benefit of the national defense. For example, despite the fact that Fujii himself was taken into custody by the FBI from December 7 to December 11, he made no protest against it.⁷⁰ His paper rather expressed gratification that the society at large was unexpectedly tolerant even to "us 'enemy aliens'" and even warned the Japanese "not to take this tolerance of democratic America for granted and leave any ambiguity in our full cooperation."⁷¹ On this ground, his paper fully acknowledged the series of the governmental pre-evacuation regulations⁷² and went so far as to claim that undoing or even slight failure of cooperation itself would constitute a disloyal and un-American act.⁷³ Such an all-or-nothing viewpoint permitted no

alternative other than standing either on the American democracy's side or on the Japanese-German-Italian militarism's side.⁷⁴ The paper repeatedly claimed that the Japanese Americans must organize a perfect unity by "completely" rooting out and exterminating "those elements in our Japanese communities whose integrity and sincerity is questionable."⁷⁵ The Doho keenly desired their immediate detention and evacuation.⁷⁶

Naturally, the paper showed little uncomfortableness or hesitation in obeying the final decision of mass evacuation. From January to May, the Doho in many occasions declared its wholehearted acceptance of evacuation. Summing up, the paper's evacuation reception was justified by several reasons.

First, the Japanese need to prove their true loyalty by thorough cooperation with the government; on the contrary, refusal of such forthright cooperation was an evidence of disloyalty.⁷⁷ In time of war, there should be no time for the Japanese to talk about their civil liberties, to complain of violation of their constitutional rights, or to blame invalidity of democracy.⁷⁸ So voluntary evacuation was the most desirable option for the Japanese.⁷⁹ The paper even accused that those who disagreed were thinking of their own personal interests only.⁸⁰

Second, the Japanese were making their evacuation inevitable by themselves. As far as there existed undemocratic, pro-Japan elements, even though they constituted a very small portion in the whole Japanese community, the government could not help but impose large-scale evacuation for the national defense.⁸¹ The innocent, loyal majority must suffer for a handful of pro-Axis minority.⁸²

Third, because the ultimate nature of the war was death-or-alive, win-or-lose battle between democracy and dictatorship,⁸³ no war-related problem could be solved until the Allies defeat the Axis. Likewise the tragedy of the Japanese could be solved by the U.S. victory alone.⁸⁴ As the paper put it, "we have staked our future in an American victory and military defeat of Japan."⁸⁵ The Japanese must endure any kind of hardships and sacrifices for the U.S. victory⁸⁶ because they would be treated democratically only if they made a deep commitment in helping the nation win the war.⁸⁷ And all-out acceptance of

evacuation was one of the most crucial contributions which only the Japanese Americans could make.⁸⁸ The final issue of May 4 summed up this explanation again.⁸⁹

Fourth, considering that victory was the paramount priority for both the nation and the Japanese Americans, forthright reception of evacuation would ultimately benefit for the welfare and security of the majority of the Japanese.⁹⁰ Vigorous advocacy of their civil liberties would only end up with encouraging the anti-Japanese hysteria among chauvinists in the nation.⁹¹ In fact, the Doho explained, the overwhelming majority of the Japanese agreed with their evacuation.⁹²

Lastly, despite the fact that the activities of the Japanese were regulated in many aspects, the government's treatment was overall generous and understandable, especially comparing with what Tokyo was doing. And the paper also discussed that the Japanese as enemy aliens must trust the authority's fairness and tolerance.⁹³

Furthermore, what makes the Doho's reception of evacuation unique is its absolutism. In other words, its patriotism was so extreme that it stressed only the wartime obligations and self-victimization by the Japanese; and, it even denied their freedom and civil rights. In fact, the paper in some very limited occasions demanded sympathy and fair treatment of the Japanese in a critical context toward the general public and government. But what should come first was always the altruistic self-victimization by the Japanese.⁹⁴ And when discussing the need of their protection, fairness, or racial equality, the Doho largely did so by citing statements of such non-Japanese social institutions as the domestic English-language press⁹⁵ or the members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).⁹⁶ Moreover, those who deserved descent treatment were only the full-pledged "loyal" or at best those who were unwittingly misguided by pro-Japan agitators in the pre-war period⁹⁷; and of course, both the "loyal" and "potentially loyal" must go to evacuation camps in any case. The paper's absolutist stance did not even approve "selective evacuation," a half-way method to distinguish between the "loyal" and "disloyal."⁹⁸ In regard with the treatment of the "loyal," the Doho instead

proposed to let them assume leadership in the camp autonomy.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, due to its presupposition that only the mass evacuation was the right and acceptable choice, the Doho's evacuation coverage mentioned the policy's practical, operational aspects only but never highlighted its fundamental problems.¹⁰⁰

Sometimes the paper seemed that it deliberately avoided finding fault with the government. The Doho once suggested that forceful evacuation of American-born Nisei was potentially a violation of their constitutional rights if interpreted technically; however, the paper simply concluded that the wartime situation justified it.¹⁰¹ The February 27 issue ignored the manifest reality of Executive Order 9066, saying the order was not targeted against the Japanese in particular.¹⁰² The issue of March 6 said that the present anti-Japanese mood and evacuation were characteristically different from the Immigration Act of 1924, which the paper admitted was obviously an attempt of racial discrimination against the Japanese.¹⁰³ And above all, the paper once developed such a bitterly paradoxical contention: "If certain restrictions have been imposed upon us and certain integral freedom denied to Americans of Japanese descent, then it means that we are not free from all suspicion and therefore such precautionary measures were necessary."¹⁰⁴ It was as if, whatever terrible was occurring to the Japanese Americans, all the faults must be attributed to Japan or the Japanese Americans themselves but never to racial prejudice or wartime hysteria on the side of the outer society and government.¹⁰⁵

The paper's radical Americanism stressed the Japanese Americans' strict, all-out self-victimization. Yet it totally dismissed undemocratic implications of the government's decision of mass evacuation. Judging from the Doho's repeated condemnation of other Japanese-language papers, however, it would be rational to access that the Doho's the-government-knows-all, all-or-nothing patriotism was quite extraordinary in comparison with most of the other Japanese who also chose to accept their evacuation.

IV. The Utah Nippo

The Utah Nippo was started in November 1914 as a daily paper by Uneo Terasawa in Salt Lake City.¹⁰⁶ The paper became tri-weekly from the issue of January 11, 1932 and still was so when the U.S. entered the war. The paper's readership consisted of the local Issei mainly, and its editorial stance reflected the first generation's view. Like the other Japanese papers, from the beginning of 1941 until the outbreak of the war, the Utah Nippo was filled with articles and editorials concerning the deteriorating U.S.-Japan relations and the social status of the Japanese Americans.

The paper was fundamentally sympathetic with Tokyo's ambition to establish the Great Far Eastern Co-Prosperity Sphere in Asia. Most symbolically, the paper's new year resolution for 1941 stressed the need of the Japanese Americans' unity to encourage Tokyo's foreign policy.¹⁰⁷ The paper maintained the pro-Japan attitude throughout the year and did not try to hide it. According to the paper, Japan had no aim to invade the Asian neighborhood; on the contrary, Japan's Far Eastern policy and belonging to the Axis were to contribute to the establishment of international peace.¹⁰⁸ At least until mid-1941, the paper urged readers to provide war contributions to the Japanese military¹⁰⁹ and regularly printed other relevant notices. Meanwhile, the paper was highly anxious about the widening gulf between the U.S. and Japan and repeatedly asserted that they must avoid a war by all means.¹¹⁰

Being well aware of the difficult social placement of the Japanese, the paper's pre-war editorials also presented many suggestions and opinions in regard with the Japanese community. The paper's main contentions can be summarized in several points. Firstly and most essentially, the Issei and Nisei need to establish a strong unity, promote mutual cooperation, and share hardships each other.¹¹¹ Stiff unity was necessary not only for their self-protection but also for realization of better mutual understanding between their mother nation and host nation. The paper wrote the Japanese Americans were obliged to foster the anti-war public opinion and to strive for grass-root diplomacy in order to prevent a war.¹¹²

Secondly, the Utah Nippo expected the young Nisei to preserve the

Japanese culture and ethnic identity in the midst of the developing crisis. The Nisei's responsibility was usually discussed from a parental standpoint which accompanied with the Issei's traditional ethnic values. Most typically, the April 23 issue argued both the Issei and Nisei should realize the traditional Japanese virtue of mutual help by encouraging war contributions to Japan. "Blood is thicker than water," stated the issue.¹¹³

Thirdly, the Utah Nippo placed the Nisei's loyalty to the U.S. in the same context of its own pro-Japan stance. As it was an obligation for the Issei to serve for their mother nation, or Japan, so was for their sons and daughters to be loyal to their mother nation, or the U.S. This dual loyalty of the Japanese Americans was discussed repeatedly in the parent-child context.¹¹⁴

Finally, the Utah Nippo expected the Nisei and their organization JACL to assume strong leadership in improving the U.S.-Japan relations and the status of the Japanese. Because the true aim of Tokyo's Far Eastern policy was to establish peace and never to threaten the life of Americans, as the paper believed, the genuine loyalty of the Nisei was to help disseminate Tokyo's real goodwill to the U.S. public. What the paper especially emphasized was the Nisei's eligibility to serve as a diplomatic bridge which connects the two nations.¹¹⁵ And this ambassadorial task would be carried out most effectively by the firm Nisei conformity under the umbrella of the JACL¹¹⁶ with an aid from the Issei.¹¹⁷

To the paper which believed the Japanese Americans' dual loyalty was indeed possible, there existed a hope that the government's treatment of them would be fair and favorable. The March 28 issue editorialized that "even school boys know that the life and property of the Japanese would be protected as far as they stayed away from fifth column activities."¹¹⁸ The paper in May predicted again that, even though Germany and the U.S. started a war, most Japanese would be treated fairly except for subversive elements.¹¹⁹

As the U.S.-Japan relations kept worsening, however, the paper's war converge came to be mixed with optimistic wishes and pessimistic anxieties.¹²⁰ By the summer the paper's pro-Japan tone lost its previous impetus,¹²¹ and the

Japanese Americans' ambivalent status came to be recognized more clearly.¹²² Concerning the FDR's decision to freeze Japan's assets in the nation, the August 4 issue commented that "we as peaceful citizens have only to wait until the freeze melts," restating the hope that the government would never treat them as enemy aliens.¹²³ The paper's uneasiness can also be observed in the editorial on August 11. It said the Japanese Americans were now in a conflictive status because they have to be "loyal subjects [of Japan]" and at the same time be "good citizens [of the U.S.]" "If one wants to be loyal to one, it is hard to be loyal to the other."¹²⁴

But the Utah Nippo did not expect much from the Issei in preserving the Japanese community. The paper rather envisioned the Issei's role as fairly passive one, say, to stay calm and quiet, to keep wishing for peace, or to remain law-abiding hard-working loyal citizens.¹²⁵ Instead, the Utah Nippo expected much more from the Nisei and JACL. Because the Nisei grew up on the Issei's great achievements which they realized by immense self-victimization and great efforts against harsh racial discrimination,¹²⁶ the Nisei now had to work harder to correct the social injustice on behalf of their parents.¹²⁷ Presumably due to the ever-worsening international crisis and anti-Japanese sentiment, however, the paper's former assertion of the Nisei's ambassadorship as a diplomatic bridge was no longer observed by the fall.

But the paper never abandoned its ethnic pride. It sometimes displayed a mixed feeling about some Japanese' extreme leaning toward Americanism. The October 27 editorial, for instance, condemned some Japanese were trying to show their loyalty more than necessary as if they lost their Japanese identity.¹²⁸ A later issue again lamented that loyalty pledging was becoming like a superficial fashion among the Japanese. "The more the number of loyalty pledging increases, the less its value decreases."¹²⁹ As the war neared, the paper's coverage was filled with pessimistic anxiety.¹³⁰ To the very last moment, however, the paper fundamentally remained pro-Japan¹³¹ and did not abandon a hope that a war and consequent violence against the Japanese would be avoided. The December 5 issue predicted that in the worst case the government might dissolve some Japanese organizations or intervene with the

Japanese-language press but there would be no harassment or violence against the Japanese.¹³²

The Utah Nippo's English section during 1941 did not come out regularly. Neither did it make particular editorial comments.¹³³ But as it can be guessed from the fact that the JACL's executive secretary Mike Masaoka was a former editor, the English section must have shared the JACL's pro-FDR Americanism.¹³⁴

The Utah Nippo was forced to discontinue after publishing two issues after the Pearl Harbor attack.¹³⁵ But the paper's attitude to the government's post-Pearl Harbor Japanese policy can be known from the analysis of its pre-war coverage and those two issues. As this research already examined, the Utah Nippo since the pre-war period had been supportive to the JACL's full patriotism campaign and trusted the government's fair treatment. Accordingly, the paper was fairly cooperative and was in trust with the government's wartime enemy aliens policy. The December 8 issue commended readers to stay calm and remain good and loyal law-abiding citizens, saying the Japanese must obey all governmental orders under any circumstances.¹³⁶ The next December 10 issue also emphasized that the Issei and Nisei must unite tightly as loyal citizens and concentrate on fulfilling their own business. The paper further discussed that although the Japanese, U.S. citizens and aliens alike, should be prepared to be treated as such, the government could be trusted to protect their life and property unless they were involved in fifth column activities.¹³⁷ Based on this understanding, the paper advised readers to abide by the law and refrain from recklessness and thoughtlessness.¹³⁸ The English section of December 10 mentioned the FBI's round-ups of Issei leaders and commented that "this rude awakening is a shock to our parents who have learned to love and appreciate this great American freedom and the democratic principles"¹³⁹ But it also added that "it is only the logical war-time proceedings [to] insure the safety of this nation against any possible subversive activity among alien residents who are of the enemy empire."¹⁴⁰

After its reopening from February 25, the paper turned very inactive in editorializing. The paper no longer printed editorials regularly, and its

previous pro-Japan stance totally disappeared. Instead, the war-related news, authority's announcements, and other non-controversial items dominated the paper. As the paper later announced itself, the Utah Nippo at this point operated with self-restraints and was dedicated to assist the government's efforts to disseminate wartime orders and announcements to the Japanese.¹⁴¹ Quite naturally, the Utah Nippo's post-suspension coverage featured full collaboration, or no resistance or protest, to the government's policy in all aspects. The reopening issue of February 25 set the paper's basic editorial direction afterward. In its reopening announcement, the paper thanked "the authority's most generous decision to allow us, enemy aliens, to resume publication, which is firmly based on freedom and justice."¹⁴² The paper then stated that "we have decided to live in the U.S. until we die under the protection of the nation's law. Although we are Japanese in our appearance, we are Americanized from the bottom of our heart and are all for Americanism. ... Therefore we will work harder to encourage the national unity and never hesitate to cooperate thoroughly with the government's policy."¹⁴³ And it added: "Yesterday, we were loyal residents and fathers and mothers of loyal Nisei. And overnight we are under the situation to be treated as enemy aliens. But this is a natural consequence."¹⁴⁴

It was therefore quite logical that the Utah Nippo, both the Japanese and English sections, wanted the Japanese to show strict self-restraints and called for volunteer obedience to wartime regulations. Saying "the man worthwhile is still the man who can make the best of things even when everything is wrong,"¹⁴⁵ the paper urged readers to abide by such pre-evacuation regulations as curfew, limitation of long-distance trip, and ban of possession of short-wave radio and other items.¹⁴⁶ Even those who were not subject to these orders were demanded to show best self-control. The paper often commented the Japanese, pinpointing the "fun-crazy young Niseis" especially, ought to consider the current wartime circumstances when having enjoyment and try best to abide by curfew and other wartime orders voluntarily.¹⁴⁷

Likewise, little unwillingness or discontent was expressed to the FBI's

round-ups, establishment of military zones, and other decisions which eventually led to the mass evacuation. The March 30 issue introduced "a voice from our reader," which claimed the Japanese should show their loyalty by voluntarily helping the evacuation in return for the authority's protective treatment.¹⁴⁸ The English section on April 8 counterattacked those who blamed the JACL's failure to resist the evacuation, writing "this is really the time to muster our forces, and with individual faith, courage, and hard work, cooperate to protect and look after what rights we have left."¹⁴⁹

After the evacuation began, the paper's main interest shifted to the evacuees' actual life in camps. From late April, the Utah Nippo began to publish camp reports from Manzanar, Santa Anita, Tule Lake, and Tanforan. But most reports shed light on only the positive aspects of camp life, with little articulation of complaints, disappointments, or requests for modification in camp operation.¹⁵⁰ Inside reports from Tule Lake, for example, emphasized the camp condition was much better than it was imagined.¹⁵¹ Some even expressed gratification to the authority's tolerance and generosity. One evacuee reported that "if this is our contribution -- being concentrated like this -- then, we have no complaints to make. Rather, we feel almost privileged to have the protection so generously given us"¹⁵²

During the present research's time frame, the Utah Nippo only once carried a more or less emotional article. It was written by a Nisei soldier Dewey Ajioka. He did not hide his enraged feeling against the unfair treatment of the Japanese "in civilian life as well as in army life."¹⁵³ He wrote: "... [H]ow disillusioned, how disappointed, how cruelly burlesqued are those very things [of freedom and equality] that all Americans cherish, and for which we now fight! ... [W]ith the ever-widening gulf of racial animosity due to the war, ... this period is certainly the darkest period in our lives."¹⁵⁴ His statement was probably the strongest criticism the Utah Nippo carried since the Pearl Harbor attack. But his article did not end up with that outcry alone. His final conclusion was: "Even if we feel that the very guarantees that we have under the Constitution are being cruelly travestied, we must -- to show our loyalty, patriotism, and real intentions -- do our every job with

conscientiousness and a determination to do our level best."¹⁵⁵ At least for the time being, remarked Ajioka, "the problems that arise from the war must be set aside to the post-war era to be solved."¹⁵⁶

The Utah Nippo's full agreement with the government's evacuation, together with the total lack of articulate complaints and resistance, corresponded with the responses of the Rocky Nippon and Doho. But the Utah Nippo's uniqueness, which might be explained by the fact that only it experienced a temporary suspension, was that its reception of evacuation was less interrelated with its pre-war editorial stance. The Japanese ethnic identity or strong expectation for the Nisei's ambassadorial role were no longer the paper's major topics after the evacuation was carried out. After the paper restarted in February, the Utah Nippo functioned more as a news messenger between the authority and troubled Japanese Americans than as an opinion leader who provides interpretations for the social developments surrounding them. The paper's evacuation coverage thus lacked discussion concerning the fundamental aspects, such as the righteousness and justifiability, of evacuation.

V. Conclusion

The present study so far has examined how the three Japanese-language papers covered the war and subsequent mass Japanese evacuation in relation with the major functions of the ethnic press.

Although three papers approached from different aspects, each paper since the pre-war period fulfilled the ethnic press' major functions. They surveyed the situation of the outer world, encouraged the Japanese community's assimilation and mutual understanding with the outer society by promoting Americanization and grass-root diplomacy, attempted to maintain and correlate the Japanese community by calling for unity and mutual help, and, except for the Doho, strived to preserve their ethnic identity and cultural system. By and large, each paper during the pre-war months had expected the government to protect the Japanese unless they were engaged in fifth column activities.

They kept assuming these roles after the nation entered the war and the

Japanese underwent various restrictions. Each paper came to show uniqueness, however. The Rocky Nippon tended to stress the significance to preserve the traditional Japanese virtues and Buddhist faith, while the Utah Nippo tended to serve more as a news messenger between the Japanese Americans and government, chiefly taking the surveillance role. In contrast with these intermountain papers, the more opinion-oriented Doho preferred to promote its all-or-nothing Americanism campaign, taking part of the assimilation function in an extreme sense.

Beside these differences, however, all the three papers similarly approved the Japanese mass evacuation and other governmental orders with no vigorous attempt to advocate the civil rights and liberties of the Japanese. While they always highlighted the Japanese Americans' responsibilities, duties, self-victimization, and altruistic contributions, they rarely sought the possibility to make complaints or to request the government to reconsider its policy per se. Except for some discussions about the operational, practical aspects of evacuation, there existed virtually no serious attempt to question its fundamental aspects, ethically or legally.

Considering that the non-citizen Issei had long been suffering from the anti-Oriental pressure since their arrival to the U.S., it would have been understandable even if the Japanese-language papers, especially the Rocky Nippon and Utah Nippo, had their own sayings to the government's Japanese policy. Encompassed by various social developments during the pre-war and post-Pearl Harbor periods, however, the Japanese-language papers seemed to have had no choice but to agree to the evacuation and other regulations, at least publicly. The public mood grew more and more hostile to Japan and the Japanese; the government's Japanese policy was approved, or even keenly supported, by the majority of the society, including the major press; most Nisei were still too young to effectively lead the Japanese community and oppose to the evacuation; the JACL endorsed the evacuation in order to prove their loyalty; the Issei were foreign-born aliens without citizenship. And additionally, their subordinate and inferior feeling as enemy aliens, fear of wartime hysteria, threat of the authority's editorial intervention and

censorship,¹⁵⁷ immediate needs for realistic response to the current problems, helplessness before the accomplished reality of evacuation, or anxiety for future hardships as well could have discouraged them to dare to question their evacuation at all. Even the Doho's absolutism need to be placed in this social context of highly strained wartime domestic environment.

Presumably due to these various factors, what the Japanese-language newspapers could do was limited either to give a full endorsement to evacuation, to rely on sympathetic remarks of non-Japanese authoritative others, to justify their acceptance of evacuation by referring to traditional Japanese virtues and religious faith, to concentrate on the realistic business of disseminating information to the Japanese community, or simply to acknowledge evacuation as a *fait accompli* and face to the current problems and future hardships. As this study noted earlier, the lack of strong opposition from the press is pointed out as one of the chief conditions which led to the evacuation.¹⁵⁸ But it was not only the English-language domestic press but also the Japanese-language press that failed to make an effective opposition to the government's policy.

Notes:

1.. This research owes a lot to the JSPS Research Fellowship for Young Scientists and the Matsushita International Foundation.

2.. If not specifically mentioned, the "Japanese Americans" or "Japanese" in this research means "all people of Japanese ancestry living in America regardless of their classification." In some places, this study will specifically refer to "Issei," "Nisei," or "Kibei." The Issei denotes the first generation who were born in Japan and came to the United States as immigrants around the turn of the century. The Nisei means second generation who were American-born citizens. The Kibei are the American-born Nisei who went to Japan and came back to the United States.

3.. This study does not ignore the discussions about the use of terms and phrases to describe the incident. But to avoid unnecessary confusions and criticism by inconsistent use of terminologies, the present study chooses to use "evacuation" or "internment." For further discussions about definitions of words or euphemism, see, Sandra C. Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," Pacific Historical Review Vol.60, No.2 (May 1991): pp.170n, 174n; Bill Hosokawa, Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: William

Morrow, 1969), p.348; Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," Journal of Ethnic Studies Vol.10, No.3 (Fall 1982): pp.95-109.

4.. The term "civil rights" or "civil liberties" in this study mainly denote the rights to move about freely, to live and work where one likes, and to establish and maintain a home and family where they choose, which cannot be deprived of except on an individual basis and only after satisfactory notice, hearing, fair trial, and due process of law. But this study does not ignore that the Japanese evacuation broadly involved other various rights such as to assemble peaceably, to speak, publish, read, learn and hear freely, and so on. [Jacobus tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution 3rd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1968), p.325; Arval A. Morris, "Justice, War, and the Japanese-American Evacuation and Internment: Book Review of JUSTICE AT WAR: THE STORY OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT CASES," Washington Law Review Vol.59, No.4 (September 1984): pp.844-5.]

5.. The rethinking of the evacuation progressed considerably at the grass root level since the 1960s and at the federal government's level since the early 1980s. Following the formal apology and lifting of Executive Order 9066 by President Gerald Ford in February 1976, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was established by act of Congress in 1980. The Commission completed its final report Personal Justice Denied in 1982, and the report urged the Congress and president to launch a compensation program. Saying that "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership" shaped Executive Order 9066 and other military orders, the report concluded that "[a] grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed, and detained by the United States during World War II." [The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (Washington, D.C., 1982), p.18.] Several bills, which were based upon the Commission's suggestions, were introduced in the House and Senate, and they led to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 under President Ronald Reagan. For the resurrection of the evacuation, see, Don T. Nakanishi, "Surviving Democracy's 'Mistake': Japanese Americans & the Enduring Legacy of Executive Order 9066," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): pp.7-35.

6.. According to the 1993 survey conducted by the Journal of American History, the journal's readers ranked the Japanese evacuation eighth as the dark spots in the history of the United States. [David Thelen, "The Practice of American History," Journal of American History Vol.81, No.3 (December 1994): pp.931-60, 1175-1217.]

7.. Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp.377-99; Alma Elizabeth

Oberst, The Policy of the San Francisco News on the Evacuation and Relocation of the Japanese During World War II M.A. thesis submitted to the University of California, Berkeley, 1964; Ives Neely, "The Press Was an Accessory: Winter of '42," Quill Vol.64, No.4 (April 1976): pp.19-23; Bill Hosokawa, Thunder in the Rockies: The Incredible Denver Post (New York: William Morrow, 1976), pp.192-96; Karin Becker Ohrn, "What You See Is What You Get: Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams at Manzanar," Journalism History Vol.4, No.1 (Spring 1977): pp.14-22, 32; Walt Stromer, "Why I Went Along: 1942 and the Invisible Evacuees," Columbia Journalism Review Vol.31, No.5 (January/February 1983): pp.15-17; Gary Y. Okihiro and Julie Sly, "The Press, Japanese Americans, and the Concentration Camps," Phylon Vol.44, No.1 (March 1983): pp.66-83; Timothy Olmstead, "Nikkei Internment: The Perspective of Two Oregon Weekly Newspapers," Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol.85, No.1 (Spring 1984): pp.5-32; Gordon H. Chang, "'Superman is about to visit the relocation centers' and the Limits of Wartime Liberalism," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): pp.37-60; Sharon Bramlett-Solomon and Patricia Mah, "The Press as Accessory: Editorial Treatment of the Japanese-American Internment Issue," unpublished paper submitted to Journalism History in November 1993; Lloyd E. Chiasson, "Japanese-American Relocation During World War II: A Study of California Editorial Reactions," Journalism Quarterly Vol.68, No.1/2 (Spring/Summer 1991): pp.263-68; Lloyd E. Chiasson, "The Japanese-American Encampment: An Editorial Analysis of 27 West Coast Newspapers," Newspaper Research Journal Vol.12, No.2 (Spring 1991): pp.92-107; Lloyd Chiasson Jr., "The Japanese-American Enigma," in Lloyd Chiasson Jr. ed., The Press In Times of Crisis (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp.137-52.

8.. Takeya Mizuno, "The *New Republic* and Japanese Mass Internment During World War II, 1941-1945: The Liberal Magazine's Uniqueness and Limitations," unpublished paper presented at the 1996 AEJMC national convention in Anaheim, California.

9.. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, p.9.

10.. Kaori Hayashi's master's thesis casually mentions the evacuation coverage of the Rafu Shimpo, a Japanese daily in Los Angeles. But the study's main focus is put on the historical development and editorial transition of the paper. (Kaori Hayashi, History of The Rafu Shimpo: Evolution of a Japanese-American Newspaper, 1903-1942 M.A. thesis submitted to California State University, Northridge, 1990.)

Yuji Ichioka's study provides precious findings how one Nisei editor and his English-language weekly in Seattle, Japanese American Courier, viewed the increasing strain between Japan and the U.S., outbreak of the war, and mass evacuation. [Yuji Ichioka, "A Study in Dualism: James Yoshinori Sakamoto and the *Japanese American Courier*, 1928-1942," Amerasia Journal Vol.13, No.2 (1986-87): pp.49-81.] But Ichioka's study limits its focus on one conservative Nisei and his English-language paper. The author himself admits that "Sakamoto and the Courier had a very limited appeal to the Nisei generation as a whole." (Ibid., p.75.) Moreover, neither does his research highlight the paper's reception of mass evacuation and its logic.

There are some other studies that inquired the reaction of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). But none of them examine the coverage of the Japanese-language press. [See, for example, Bill Hosokawa, Nisei: The Quiet Americans New York: William Morrow, 1969; Bill Hosokawa, JACL: In Quest of Justice New York: William Morrow, 1982; Jere Takahashi, "Japanese American Responses to Race Relations: The Formation of Nisei Perspectives," Amerasia Journal Vol.9, No.1 (1982): pp.29-57; Paul R. Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power: The Japanese Citizens League, 1941-1942," Pacific Historical Review Vol.52, No.2 (May 1983): pp.147-174; Roger Daniels, "Japanese America, 1930-41: An Ethnic Community in the Great Depression," Journal of the West Vol.24, No.4 (October 1985): pp.35-49.]

11.. Robert Ezra Park, The Immigrant Press and its Control New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922; Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Lyman Bryson, ed., The Communication of Ideas (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp.37-51; Dorothy Anne Stroup, The Role of the Japanese-American Press in its Community M.A. thesis submitted to the University of California, 1960; Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976; Norio Tamura and Haruo Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun to Doka: 'Utah Nippo' no Jirei wo Chushin ni," Tokyo Keidai Gakkaishi No.138 (November 1984): pp.186-87.

12.. Denver had another Japanese-language newspaper, the Kakushu Jiji (or called Colorado Times) which also kept publishing during the evacuation years. But the present study does not examine the Kakushu Jiji due to unavailability of back issues. For the historical background of the Japanese and Japanese press in Colorado, see, Miiko Kodama and Norio Tamura, "Colorado Nikkei Shinbun Shoshi: Senjika 'Kakushu Jiji' no Nichibun Eibun Page wo Chushin ni," Tokyo Keizai Daigaku Jinbun Shizen Kagaku Ronju No.64 (July 1983): pp.101-157.

13.. Many others were forced to close earlier. Major Japanese-language papers in metropolitan areas still managed to publish for a few months after the Pearl Harbor attack. But most discontinued earlier than the Doho. The last issue of the Rafu Shimpō, the largest Japanese daily in Los Angeles, was March 31; the Kashu Mainichi and Beikoku Sangyo Nippo in Los Angeles stopped on March 21 and March 31 respectively; and the San Francisco Nichibei stopped on May 16. [Akihiko Haruhara, "San Francisco Nikkeishi no Ayumi to Genkyo," and "Los Angeles Nikkeishi no Ayumi to Genkyo," in Nihon Shinbun Kyokai, ed., Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi No.9 (October 1979): pp.11, 71.]

14.. Norio Tamura, Han-Fascism no Shinbun 'Doho,' 1937-1942 (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 1988), p.26; Tamura and Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun to Doka," pp.205-207; Kodama and Tamura, "Colorado Nikkei Shinbun Shoshi," pp.105, 113.

15.. Tamura and Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun to Doka," pp.185, 199-200. For example, Utah and Colorado accepted those who voluntarily moved out of the West Coast before the mass evacuation was carried out. The JACL also moved its national headquarters from San Francisco to Salt Lake City in mid 1942. (Kodama and Tamura, "Colorado Nikkei Shinbun Shoshi," p.104; Tamura and Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun to Doka," p.203.) In regard with the relatively generous wartime public opinion in the intermountain area, see, Sandra C. Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," Pacific Historical Review Vol.60, No.2 (May 1991): pp.169-94.

16.. Kodama and Tamura, "Colorado Nikkei Shinbun Shoshi," p.112.

17.. For instance, the issue of April 23 published a column in which a Japanese high-ranking navy officer discussed the need of citizens' unity to support Tokyo's southern-advancing policy. (Rocky Nippon 23 April 1941: p.1.) An analytical article of the May 27 issue explained how effectively the German navy was coping with the British counterpart. (Rocky Nippon 27 May 1941: p.1.) The same issue included a story in which a German navy officer proudly reported what he and his men did when the war against Britain broke. (Ibid., pp.1-2.) The July 15 issue reported that the news media in Japan denounced the military pact between Britain and Russia as "virtually meaningless." (Rocky Nippon 15 July 1941: p.3.)

18.. For example, the paper once delivered a three-part series entitled "America, Don't Enter the War" by an anonymous U.S. senate. It was written from an isolationist viewpoint and opposed the nation's entry to the European war. (Rocky Nippon 26 August 1941: p.1; Rocky Nippon 29 August 1941: p.1; Rocky Nippon 2 September 1941: p.1.)

19.. Starting from October 3, every issue of the Nisei Tribune carried a message "BUY SAVINGS BONDS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE" on the right side of the banner.

20.. "Protect Our Heritage," Rocky Nippon, English Section 21 October 1941: p.4. The same article also read: "WHY SHOULD ANYONE BE PROUD OF HAVING EVADED THE DRAFT? IF THERE IS SOMEONE WHO IS PROUD AND HAPPY BECAUSE HE EVADED THE CHANCE OF SERVING HIS COUNTRY, HE IS MORE OF A MENACE THAN ALL THE SABOTEURS IN THIS OR ANY NATION." (Ibid.)

21.. "Editors Comment" of the October 3 issue explained the aim of the newly established English section as follows: "[Nisei's] trust in us shall not have been in vain. We shall be your voice, the voice of the niseis. We are here to bring better understanding between your ideas and those of your parents. We are here to bring about a fraternal spirit among all niseis minus political and religious affiliations which are the seeds of dissension. We are here to bring about a more amiable relationship

between our fellow Americans and ourselves." ("Editors Comment," Rocky Nippon, English Section 3 October 1941: p.4.)

22.. Rocky Nippon 19 December 1941: p.3. The message also confirmed that the FBI would never inspect them without a proof of misdeeds and warned them to be careful in communicating by their mother tongue when non-Japanese speakers were nearby. (Ibid.)

23.. Ibid.

24.. "We'll Fight and How We'll Fight!" Rocky Nippon, English Section 16 December 1941: p.4. An editorial column later welcomed the draft lottery, praising its purpose to "apply the ax to the axis, and avenge the attack on Pearl Harbor." ("Kandid Kaptions," Rocky Nippon, English Section 3 February 1942: p.4.)

25.. "We'll Fight and How We'll Fight!" p.4.

26.. Since the Pearl Harbor attack, the English section functioned like the JACL's messenger. The paper very often put such small message as "Join the J.A.C.L." between articles. The Utah Nippo's English section as well served like the JACL's organ.

27.. Rocky Nippon 27 January 1942: p.1.

28.. The paper's coverage of the FBI's round-ups was fairly noncontroversial. See, for example, such issues as January 30, February 6, February 13, and March 17, 1942.

29.. Rocky Nippon 17 March 1942: p.3.

30.. Rocky Nippon 27 March 1942: p.2. The same notice was reprinted many times in later issues.

31.. See, for example, Rocky Nippon 3 June 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 5 June 1942: p.3.

32.. Rocky Nippon 3 March 1942: p.3.

33.. See, for example, Rocky Nippon 13 May 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 22 May 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 3 June 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 12 June 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 15 June 1942: p.3; Rocky Nippon 19 June 1942: pp.1, 3; Rocky Nippon 22 June 1942: p.1; Rocky Nippon 24 June 1942: p.3.

34.. Rocky Nippon 24 February 1942: p.3. Before the mandatory evacuation was carried out, some Japanese voluntarily moved out of the West Coast to the intermountain states such as Utah and Colorado. The March 13 issue repeated the plea and added that the mutual help of the Japanese could also encourage the national defense. (Rocky Nippon 13 March 1942: p.3.)

35.. Items were contributed from such places as Santa Anita, Manzanar, Poston and Tanforan. One evacuee once reported how uncomfortable the life in Santa Anita was; however, he rather accused the lack of evacuees' moral and mutual deference than demanding reformations to the authority's camp operation. He requested other evacuees to demonstrate "our spirit" so as to dissociate themselves from the "Jap." (Rocky Nippon 24 June 1942: p.1.) See, for other examples, Rocky Nippon 10 June 1942: p.1; Rocky Nippon 15 June 1942: p.2; Rocky Nippon 22 June 1942: pp.1, 2; Rocky Nippon, English Section 22 June 1942: p.4.

36.. "Editorial," Rocky Nippon, English Section 19 December 1941: p.4.

37.. "It's Time for Realization," Rocky Nippon, English Section 27 January 1942: p.4. The paper then condemned the failure of many Nisei to obey the FBI's request to refrain from appearing in public places and lingering around town after midnight, stressing again that the Issei and Nisei alike must limit their longing for enjoyment. (Ibid.)

38.. When the national JACL asked the Kibei to help conducting a survey, the Nisei Tribune published the JACL's announcement (so did the Japanese section) and explained that "as the project is undertaken to protect the interests of the Kibei, every cooperation on their part will serve to insure their welfare." ("Kibei Requested to Volunteer Information by National JACL," Rocky Nippon, English Section 20 February 1942: p.4.) The Nisei Tribune also accused some Issei for their covert insult of the JACL. ("What -- You Don't Like the JACL?" Rocky Nippon, English Section 3 March 1942: p.4.)

39.. "It's Time for Realization," p.4.

40.. Masako Kato, "Teen-Age Pandemonium," Rocky Nippon, English Section 6 May 1942: p.4. Kato also said she admired a girl who said she was proud of being evacuated to Santa Anita Assembly Center. Likewise Ugi Harada on May 25 advised Nisei high school graduates not to "expect the future to await you with happiness,

prosperity, and success You will have to look for them Therefore, you cannot expect to gain more than what you put in." (Ugi Harada, "To the Graduates of 1942," Rocky Nippon, English Section 6 May 1942: p.4.) Kato also sent a similar message to them in June. She wrote: "[A] nisei's distinct, Oriental facial features were detrimental to his success, but we are convinced that, although the nisei of today face a troubled future, ... your future depends to [sic] a very great extent on how wisely you aid in our way effort." (Masako Kato, "Teen-Age Pandemonium," Rocky Nippon, English Section 1 and 6 May 1942: p.4.)

41.. Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 6 May 1942: p.1. Kodama, who migrated to Denver from California, began to write a column regularly from May. Although Kodama's opinions might not have always represented the ones of the paper, his columns usually appeared on the front page and in fact included many similarities with the paper's editorial stance. For example, he also emphasized the Japanese Americans' endurance, self-restraint, and full cooperation with the U.S. war effort. (See, Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 8 May 1942: p.1; Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 13 May 1942: p.1.)

42.. Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 1 June 1942: p.1. He also complained that the U.S. press' war coverage overemphasized only the victories of the Allies and treated the Japanese "as if they were all chickens." (Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 11 May 1942: p.1.) His May 25 column stated that the Japanese Americans' past achievements, especially ones in agriculture, ought not to be forgotten because by these achievements could they, enemy aliens though, effectively contribute to the national interests. (Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 25 May 1942: p.1.)

43.. Rocky Nippon 29 June 1942: p.2. The March 27 issue delivered a message of the Lupton Buddhist Association, which noted that their Buddhism was based upon "the democratic spirit of America" and was "the American Buddhism." (Rocky Nippon 27 March 1942: p.3.) According to the message, "the American Buddhism" could provide much contribution to the nation and therefore the government would never suppress it. Ugi Harada also wrote that "[Buddhism] has been formulated more or less into what we can call 'American Buddhism'" and its further development would benefit the mankind. (Ugi Harada, "War and Buddhism," Rocky Nippon, English Section 24 February 1942: p.4.)

44.. "Teen-Age Pandemonium," Rocky Nippon, English Section 17 March 1942: p.4.

45.. When discussing the violence targeted against the Japanese, Kodama praised that only Governor Carr welcomed the Japanese evacuees to the intermountain states. (Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Danso," Rocky Nippon 27 May 1942: p.1.) The paper also quoted Attorney General Francis Biddle, who also accused the discrimination

against the Japanese. (Rocky Nippon 26 June 1942: p.3.)

46.. Rocky Nippon 17 June 1942: p.3.

47.. "What Has Happened to the Nisei Since December 7th?" Rocky Nippon, English Section 17 June 1942: p.4. The same editorial was published in the next June 19 issue.

48.. As of the feeling of guilt and subordination as enemy aliens, see, for example, Hatsuichiro Kodama, "Rocky Hen Pen," Rocky Nippon 1 May 1942: p.1.

49.. The Rocky Nippon seemed to have been under the authority's screening during the war. The issue of June 12 noted that the paper's general news articles and opinions were translated for the authority. (Rocky Nippon 12 June 1942: p.3.)

50.. For further discussion of the paper's history and the publisher Fujii, see Norio Tamura, Han-Fascism no Shinbun 'Doho,' 1937-1942 Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 1988.

51.. See, for example, Doho supplement ed., 5 January 1941: p.1; Doho supplement ed., 1 February 1941: pp.1, 2; Doho 15 February 1941: p.4; Doho 15 May 1941: p.2; Doho 1 July 1941: p.2; Doho supplement ed., 1 July 1941: p.1.

52.. Doho 15 August 1941: p.1.

53.. Doho 20 January 1941: p.1; Doho 15 February 1941: p.1.

54.. See, for example, Doho 1 February 1941: pp.1, 4; Doho 1 March 1941: p.1; Doho 1 May 1941: p.1.

55.. Doho 1 August 1941: p.1; Doho 15 August 1941: p.4.

56.. See, for example, Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 1 April 1941: p.4; Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 1 May 1941: p.4. Among whom the Doho attacked most fiercely were the leaders of the Kibei Division of the Los Angeles JACL and the Kashu Mainichi's publisher Sei Fujii, who the paper said was the boss of "the vernacular dailies for the larger part [which] presented 'Japan's side' only." (Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 1 April 1941: p.4.) For the paper's criticism against the JACL Kibei

Division leaders, see, for example, Doho 1 March 1941: p.3; Doho 15 April 1941: p.3; Doho 15 May 1941: p.3.

57.. Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 15 May 1941: p.4. In the same issue, Kenji Oda also claimed that the JACL's Kibei Division must welcome the authority's investigation and, if found, exclude fifth columnists and other un-American members. (Kenji Oda, "Rafu Kibeibu ha Korede Yoinoka, Part 3," Doho 15 May 1941: p.3. See also, Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 1 June 1941: p.4.)

58.. "Issei Feel Pinch of War Situation," Doho 1 September 1941: p.4.

59.. See, for example, Doho 11 September 1941: p.1; Doho 21 September 1941: p.1; Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 5 October 1941: p.4.

60.. Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 21 September 1941: p.4.

61.. See, for example, Doho 5 October 1941: p.1; Doho 15 October 1941: p.1; Doho 25 October 1941: p.1.

62.. The September 1 issue, for example, advocated the "program and immediate action to root out by publicly denouncing every sign of organization, activity, policy and propaganda that inclines to promote the pro-Nazi elements in Japan among us" ("Serious Issues Face Conference," Doho 1 September 1941: p.4.) See also, Doho 5 November 1941: pp.1, 4; Doho 15 November 1941: p.1; Doho 5 December 1941: pp.1, 4.

63.. Such was the case of other Japanese-language newspapers. The Doho of October 5 blamed that "the Japanese press were [sic] afraid to let the public know the whole truth -- the real facts of the U.S.-Japan situation. ... Again, they evaded a public duty by the all-too-simple expedient of ignoring its existence." (Shuji Fujii, "A Nisei Speaks," Doho 5 October 1941: p.4. As of such press criticism, see also, Doho 1 November 1941: p.1; Doho 25 November 1941: p.1.) The Doho was extraordinarily hostile to the Kashu Mainichi's publisher Sei Fujii. From October to November, the paper featured a series of intense personal attack against him. All appeared on the front page of the Japanese section. (Doho 15 October 1941: p.1; Doho 25 October 1941: p.1; Doho 5 November 1941: p.1; Doho 25 November 1941: p.1.)

64.. Only in a handful of occasions did the paper demand equality or accused the outer society's racial discrimination. And its tone was fairly weak. (See, for example, Doho 1 April 1941: p.3; Doho 1 June 1941: p.1; Doho 5 November 1941: p.3.)

65.. The Doho published two more extra editions on January 30 and February 19, 1942.

66.. Doho 7 December 1941 (War Special No.1): pp.1-2. The second war extra on December 11 also discussed that one of the most important missions of the Japanese Americans was to enlighten the entire Japanese community, especially the Issei, to unite thoroughly under the national war effort. [Doho 11 December 1941 (War Special No.2): pp.1-2.]

67.. The one to the president read: "As editor-publisher of 'Doho', Japanese American newspaper, I urge immediate declaration of war on Japan and pledge fullest support to the US government and towards extermination of un-American elements amongst us. Stop. May I request reiteration of promise of fair and democratic treatment of loyal resident and citizen Japanese? ..." [Doho 7 December 1941 (War Special No.1): p.2.]

68.. Doho 13 December 1941 (War Special No.3): pp.1-2.

69.. Doho 15 December 1941 (War Special No.4): pp.1-2; Doho 16 December 1941 (War Special No.5): pp.1-2; Doho 18 December 1941 (War Special No.6): pp.1-2.

70.. After the paper briefly informed of his detention in the December 26 issue (Doho 26 December 1941: p.1.), Fujii reported his experience in the two-part series entitled "I was in Jail." (Doho 2 January 1942: pp.1, 4; Doho 16 January 1942: p.4.) The paper's San Francisco correspondent Karl Yoneda was also detained by the FBI and released soon. Neither did he make any complaints about it. He rather wrote that the loyal Japanese should be willing to inform the authority of fifth columnist elements around them. (Doho 26 December 1941: p.3.) For further detail of Yoneda's experience, see, Karl G. Yoneda, Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983.

71.. Doho 26 December 1941: p.3.

72.. The January 2, 1942 issue endorsed the government's suspension of the Japanese fishing industries on the Pacific Coast. It approved the Japanese fishers' evacuation for the reason of national defense and as a proof of their irrelevance to spying and sabotage. (Doho 2 January 1942: pp.1, 4.) As of the orders to ban the possession of guns, short-wave radios, and other items and to require a personal property report of more than \$1,000, the Doho urged the Japanese to trust the authority's fairness and generosity, commenting that the Japanese government was imposing much more restrictive control over enemy aliens. (Doho 16 January 1942: p.3; Doho 23 January 1942: p.3.)

73.. Asking what constitutes the fifth column, the January 2 issue said that not only giving aid and comfort to enemies but also failing to prevent others from doing so would result in a sort of fifth columnist activities. (Doho 2 January 1942: p.1.)

74.. Doho 2 January 1942: p.3. Even if one did not intentionally become sympathetic to Japan, that did not make a justifiable excuse. (Doho 9 January 1942: p.3.)

75.. Among those whom the paper pinpointed were Sei Fujii of the Kashu Mainichi and some JACL Kibei leaders. (Doho 26 December 1941: pp.1, 4. See also, Doho 23 January 1942: pp.1, 3, 4.) The paper said sorting out the disloyal faction was the most unique contribution which the Japanese alone could provide for the national unity. (Doho 30 January 1942: p.1; Doho 6 February 1942: pp.1, 4.)

76.. Doho 9 January 1942: p.1.

77.. Doho 27 February 1942: p.2.

78.. Doho 6 February 1942: pp.1, 4. The paper's stance was so determined as to abstain from freedom of the press and speech. When Shuji Fujii met the California governor Culbert L. Olson on February 6, the publisher noted that "we are in full agreement of mass evacuation" and suggested the authority suspend the Japanese vernacular press and investigate every Japanese organization and language school. (Doho 13 February 1942: pp.1, 4.) After the government began carrying out evacuation, the Doho argued that only the papers dedicated for the anti-fascism and pro-democracy enlightenment should be allowed to continue. (Doho 1 April 1942: p.1.) When the paper announced its own discontinuation, the Doho again said the future Japanese press must mobilize the whole Japanese community to counter against fascism and proposed the government initiate a Japanese-language paper for that purpose. (Doho 23 April 1942: pp.1, 4.)

79.. Doho 20 February 1942: p.2; Doho 20 March 1942: pp.1, 2.

80.. Doho 6 March 1942: pp.1, 3, 4.

81.. Doho 30 January 1942: pp.1, 2, 4.

82.. Doho 6 February 1942: pp.1, 4.

- 83.. Doho 26 December 1941: p.2; Doho 2 January 1942: p.2.
- 84.. Doho 30 January 1942 (War Special No.7): p.1.
- 85.. Doho 16 January 1942: p.4.
- 86.. Doho 6 March 1942: p.3.
- 87.. Ibid., p.2.
- 88.. Doho 30 January 1942 (War Special No.7): p.2.
- 89.. Doho 4 May 1942: p.1.
- 90.. Doho 6 March 1942: p.3.
- 91.. Ibid.
- 92.. Doho 13 March 1942: pp.1, 4.
- 93.. Doho 30 January 1942: p.2.
- 94.. Doho 16 December 1941 (War Special No.5): p.2.
- 95.. Doho 23 January 1942: p.1.
- 96.. Doho 27 February 1942: pp.1, 4.
- 97.. See, for example, Doho 7 December 1941 (War Special No.1): pp.1, 2; Doho 9 January 1942: pp.1, 4.
- 98.. Doho 13 March 1942: p.4.

99.. Ibid., pp.1, 2, 4; Doho 27 March 1942: p.1; Doho 1 April 1942: p.2.

100.. When voluntary evacuation was asked by California Governor Olson, for example, Doho made several requests such as "full protection of the voluntary evacuees ... against any discrimination," financial aid, "assistance to the aged issei, the unemployed and destitute," and "aid in selection of future occupation." (Doho 13 February 1942: pp.1, 4.) After the presidential order was formally issued, the paper requested in the Tolan committee that the evacuation be "carried out in an equitable manner by first moving those from vital defense areas and those without home, work or money." (Ibid.) In these requests, there existed little implication of protest or resistance.

101.. Doho 20 February 1942: p.3. Karl Yoneda wrote in his autobiography that he thought the problem of civil rights and liberties of the Japanese would be discussed thoroughly after the war was over. (Yoneda, Ganbatte, Japanese trans. ed., p.174.)

102.. Doho 27 February 1942: p.2.

103.. Doho 6 March 1942: p.3.

104.. Doho 30 January 1942: p.4.

105.. Doho 6 February 1942: p.1.

106.. The Utah Nippo was continued by the founder's wife Kuniko Terasawa until she died in August 1991. For more detail about the historical background of the Utah Nippo, see, Fuyuko Kamisaka, Obaachan no Utah Nippo Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1985; Norio Tamura and Haruo Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun to Doka -- 'Utah Nippo' no Jirei wo Chushin ni," Tokyo Keidai Gakkaishi No.138 (November 1984): pp.183-218; Haruo Higashimoto, "Imin Shinbun no Seisui to Doka ni kansuru Ichi Kosatsu: 'Rafu Shimpō' no Baai," Shinbungaku Hyoron No.36 (1987): pp.43-56; Haruo Higashimoto, "'Utah Nippo' Saigo no Dokusha," Shinbun Kenkyu No.495 (October 1992): pp.90-96; Harumichi Yamada, "Gaisetsu 'Utah Nippo': Sono Rekishi to Igi," in Utah Nippo Fukkoku Matsumoto Shimin linkai, ed., Utah Nippo Fukkokuban Vol.1 (Matsumoto, Nagano: Utah Nippo Fukkoku Matsumoto Shimin linkai, 1994), pp.431-35; Utah Nippo Matsumoto Kenkyukai, ed., Utah Nippo Kenkyu No.1 (June 1994); Utah Nippo Matsumoto Kenkyukai, ed., Utah Nippo Kenkyu No.2 (June 1996).

107.. Utah Nippo 1 January 1941: p.1.

108.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 5 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 24 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 6 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 13 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 16 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 20 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 7 July 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 9 July 1941: p.1.

109.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 23 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 2 June 1941: p.1.

110.. The paper repeatedly stressed that neither the U.S. public opinion nor the Japanese counterpart wanted a war. (See, for example, Utah Nippo 10 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 7 March 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 26 March 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 28 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 21 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 13 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 15 August 1941: p.1.)

111.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 17 January 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 22 January 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 2 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 11 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 12 September 1941: p.1.

112.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 26 March 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 28 March 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 2 April 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 5 May 1941: p.1.

113.. Utah Nippo 23 April 1941: p.3. In other issues, the paper appealed the need to disseminate the Japanese life style, language, and other customs to younger generations. (Utah Nippo 16 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 18 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 19 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 21 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 29 August 1941: p.1.)

114.. Utah Nippo 14 March 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 28 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 30 April 1941: p.1.

115.. See, for example, the four-part series in February. (Utah Nippo 17 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 21 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 24 February 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 26 February 1941: p.1.) The paper seemed to have had particularly strong expectations to the Kibei who had the cultural background of both Japan and the U.S. (Utah Nippo 14 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 16 May 1941: p.1.)

116.. Utah Nippo 28 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 30 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 2 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 5 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 7 May 1941: p.1.

117.. In regard with the Issei's role, see, Utah Nippo 21 April 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 16 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 18 June 1941: p.1.

118.. Utah Nippo 28 March 1941: p.1.

119.. Utah Nippo 26 May 1941: p.3.

120.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 26 May 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 13 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 18 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 20 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 27 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 3 September 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 19 September 1941: p.1.

121.. Specifically, notices of war contributions to Japan were gradually replaced by advertisements and notices of U.S. bond sales campaign. (See, for example, Utah Nippo 29 September 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 5 November 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 14 November 1941: p.3.)

122.. From the end of August, for instance, the paper published a series of five-part translations of the Justice Department's announcement that the authority would make best efforts to protect the foreign-born. (Utah Nippo 22 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 25 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 27 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 29 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 3 September 1941: p.1.)

123.. Utah Nippo 4 August 1941: p.1.

124.. Utah Nippo 11 August 1941: p.1.

125.. For example, the October 31 issue contended that only by being loyal and serving for the community the Japanese could be allowed to live in the nation. (Utah Nippo 31 October 1941: p.1.) Likewise the November 19 issue said the best way for self-protection was to stop fearing because "fear comes from disloyalty." (Utah Nippo 19 November 1941: p.1.) See also, Utah Nippo 11 July 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 6 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 25 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 27 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 19 September 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 13 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 17 October 1941: p.1.

126.. Utah Nippo 2 May 1941: p.1.

127.. For example, the September 3 issue noted: "No Issei can see without tearing the Nisei voluntarily realizing the ideal loyalty which we have always been expecting. ... The blood of the Japanese warrior's spirit is running in their soul." (Utah Nippo 3 September 1941: p.1.)

When discussing the matters of racial prejudice or inequality in the society, the paper always cited the JACL and such pro-Japanese organization as the Northern California Committee on Fair Play for Citizens and Aliens of Japanese Ancestry. (See, Utah Nippo 8 October 1941: pp.3, 4; Utah Nippo 13 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 20 October 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 27 October 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 3 November 1941: p.3.)

128.. Utah Nippo 27 October 1941: p.1.

129.. Utah Nippo 12 October 1941: p.1. When the JACL launched a campaign to cancel one meal a day for purchasing war bonds, the paper's front page column criticized it as an extreme self-victimization. (Utah Nippo 26 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 1 December 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 3 December 1941: p.1.) In regard with the unemployment problem of the Nisei outside the Japanese community, the paper tended to attribute its reason to the Nisei's lack of perseverance and efforts or their inferior complex against the white rather than to the racial prejudice in the outer society or the authority's failure to execute an effective policy. (See, for example, Utah Nippo 4 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 9 June 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 15 August 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 20 October 1941: p.1.)

130.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 15 October 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 31 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 10 November 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 12 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 19 December 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 24 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 28 November 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 1 December 1941: p.3; Utah Nippo 3 December 1941: p.1.

131.. Making neither anti-Allies nor pro-Nazis arguments, the paper by the fall started to assert that the Japanese government under Prime Minister Hideki Tojo's leadership should proceed to its own diplomatic direction. (Utah Nippo 3 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 22 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 24 October 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 3 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 7 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 17 November 1941: p.1; Utah Nippo 26 November 1941: p.1.)

132.. Utah Nippo 5 December 1941: p.1.

133.. During the year, 12 issues of the English section was published: March 19, March 28, September 17, September 24, October 1, October 8, October 15, November 7, November 12, November 26, December 3, and December 10. All appeared on the fourth and last page. The March issues were edited by Mike Masaoka; the September

and October issues were edited by Sunao Ishio; the November and December issues were edited by Marie Ushio. All editors were Nisei.

134.. The October 8 issue, for example, read: "There are some who unwittingly hamper the unity of the nation with words that scathe the efforts of those responsible men of the administration. ... Let there not be found within the Japanese American Community one to criticize the course set by the people of the United States." (Utah Nippo, English Section 8 October 1941: p.4.)

135.. The Utah Nippo was forced to stop publication by the FBI after publishing the December 8 and 10 issues and restarted from the February 25 issue. The publisher Kuniko Terasawa told later that the authority did not impose censorship, but officers sometimes visited the office and asked "not to forget that here is the U.S." (Kamisaka, Obaachan no Utah Nippo, p.182.)

136.. Utah Nippo 8 December 1941: p.3.

137.. Utah Nippo 10 December 1941: p.1.

138.. Ibid.

139.. Ibid., English Section p.4.

140.. Ibid.

141.. Utah Nippo 29 May 1942: p.3.

142.. Utah Nippo 25 February 1942: p.3.

143.. Ibid.

144.. Ibid.

145.. Utah Nippo, English Section 4 March 1942: p.4.

146.. See, for example, Utah Nippo 25 February 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 30 March 1942: p.3.

147.. Utah Nippo 11 March 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo, English Section 11 March 1942: p.4; Utah Nippo, English Section 18 March 1942: p.4; Utah Nippo, English Section 1 April 1942: p.4; Utah Nippo 13 April 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 27 April 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 1 May 1942: p.1; Utah Nippo 8 May 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 11 May 1942: p.1.

148.. Utah Nippo 30 March 1942: p.1.

149.. Utah Nippo, English Section 8 April 1942: p.4. Similarly, the next issue introduced one reader who wrote: "Despite all the injustices and sufferings to which many many Japanese and Niseis have been subjected, I am still idealistic enough to retain all my faith and belief in the democratic way of life" (Utah Nippo, English Section 22 April 1942: p.4.) The editor added that "I'm gratified to know that at least one person shares my views." (Ibid.) For other articles of similar contents, see, Utah Nippo 22 April 1942: p.1; Utah Nippo 27 May 1942: p.1; Utah Nippo 29 May 1942: p.1.

150.. The paper also published a three-part series by a Buddhist Issei who was recently freed from the FBI's detention camp in Montana. Like other evacuees, the author stressed how nicely and favorably the authority treated him. (Utah Nippo 13 April 1942: p.1; Utah Nippo 15 April 1942: p.1; Utah Nippo 17 April 1942: p.1.)

151.. Utah Nippo 29 May 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 1 June 1942: p.3.

152.. Utah Nippo, English Section 3 June 1942: p.4. See also, Utah Nippo 20 April 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 4 May 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 25 May 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 27 May 1942: p.3; Utah Nippo 3 June 1942: pp.2, 3.

153.. Utah Nippo, English Section 13 May 1942: p.4.

154.. Ibid.

155.. Ibid.

156.. Ibid.

157.. The Japanese-language press' editorial freedom during the interim period between the Pearl Harbor attack and mass evacuation varied in each newspaper. Generally speaking, the authority did not impose rigid censorship in a formal sense. But their "independence" was not the same as that of the domestic English-language press. Some Japanese-language papers underwent the authority's intervention, and at least most of them had to be always conscious of the authority's watch.

The Utah Nippo was forced to stop temporarily between December 10 to February 24. The publisher Terasawa told later that, although the authority did not censor her paper afterward, officers sometimes visited the office and asked "not to forget that here is the U.S." (Kamisaka, Obaachan no Utah Nippo, p.182.) It is probable that the Rocky Nippon and Doho alike experienced a certain kind of post-publication screening. The Rocky Nippon once noted that the paper's general news articles and opinions were translated and read by the authority. (Rocky Nippon 12 June 1942: p.3.) From December 15 to December 26, the Doho carried the following message: "True translation of the Japanese on this page filed with the postmaster at Los Angeles on [the date] as required by the Act of October 6, 1917" A Doho editor Karl Akiya Ichiro stated that the Doho was not imposed any editorial restrictions, but he admitted that the navy called him several times to provide information about the Japanese community. [Karl Akiya Ichiro, "Kobe kara Utah Shu Topaz made no Michi," Han No.3 (December 1986): p.144.] As this study noted earlier, the publisher Shuji Fujii and San Francisco correspondent Karl Yoneda were taken into custody by the FBI immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack.

An editor of the North American Times in Seattle allegedly said that there was no governmental censorship or pressure to print certain kinds of news. But Togo Tanaka told some Nisei urged some papers to make sure they presented an absolutely impeccable appearance of patriotism so as to make things easier for the Japanese. [John D. Stevens, "From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Centers," Journalism Quarterly Vol.48, No.2 (Summer 1971): p.280.]

Kazuma Ikezoe, a reporter of the San Francisco Nichibei, agreed that there was no formal censorship. But he said his paper was required by the authority to submit the English translation right after the Pearl Harbor attack, although his paper did not actually do so. Ikezoe also said that the Nichibei refrained itself not to write critically against the authority. [Nihon Shinbun Kyokai, Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi No.9 (October 1979): p.35.]

Likewise Akira Komai of the Rafu Shimpo in Los Angeles said his paper was free from censorship. Yet he said the Rafu Shimpo continued to publish under the supervision by the officers of the Ministry of Treasury, who did not understand Japanese and let the press roll. (Ibid., p.77.)

Junko Maruya of the Kashu Mainichi of Los Angeles told a different story. She said the authority required her paper to bring articles to the nearby post office, where officers with an aid of JACL members checked the contents roughly and gave an "OK." (Ibid, p.107.)

158.. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, p.9.

FREE AT LAST?
RELIGIOUS CONTRADICTIONS IN THE ORIGINS OF THE BLACK PRESS
IN AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

The rise of the black press in the early 19th Century is linked to the incongruous Christian liberation theology taught to black slaves based on the religious doctrine that promised blacks a spiritual, but not secular, freedom. In this cultural history, the work of influential black editors, particularly Frederick Douglass, are reviewed for clues to their religious roots; and then extended to the religious experience of the era. Although religion was taught by slaveholders to encourage temporal self restraint, it produced the patience necessary for the editors of the black press to become the "voice" for the anti-slavery movement, and to play a key role in the rise of the abolitionist movement.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 19th Century, the black press was fed by the fire of discontent over the conditions of slavery. There was clear evidence of the need for a "voice" of the repressed slaves. As expressed by T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Globe*: "Unlike in times past, we have a voice and we propose to make that voice heard in all future phases of the race question" [emphasis in the original].¹ The discontent over slavery was grounded in the contradictory teachings among colonists about liberation theology as a Christian doctrine propounded by slaveholders toward their bondsmen. Christian slaveholders promised to free the souls of the faithful, if they placed their trust in a divine liberator--insofar as they were not exempt as black slaves. Yet, the cruel irony of "saved slaves" was not without its redemption in the religious intonations of the black press.

Recent histories of the black press have generally neglected the foundational role of religion in the anti-slavery press, favoring instead to frame the secular aspirations of historic black journalists such as John B. Russwurm, Samuel E. Cornish, and Frederick Douglass.² This paper seeks to fill a gap in the cultural history of the American press by tracing the *Zeitgeist* of anti-slavery fervor within

¹Georgetta Merritt Campbell, *Extant Collections of Early Black Newspapers*, Troy, NY: Whitston Publ. Co., 1981, p. x.

²Among the numerous published profiles of the black press in America are: Carter R. Bryan, *Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation*, Lexington, KY: AEJ, 1969; Penelope L. Bullock, *The Afro-American Periodical Press, 1839-1909*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press; Martin E. Dann, *The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1971; Frederick Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States*, College Park, MD: McGrath Pub. Co., 1968; Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827-1860*, Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1993; Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, USA*, Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990; and I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors*, New York: Arno Press, 1969.

liberation theology as it informed the black press. The key issue is how certain contradictions influenced the religious origins of the essentially agitational black press, a precursor to the reformist tradition in both the radical press and mainstream American journalism.

Finding a Liberation Voice in the Black Press

When the fledgling anti-slavery movement gained a foothold in the early 1800s, it expressed the sentiments limited previously to chants, oral poetry, folk songs, hymns, orations and sermons. Of some 40 pre-Civil War black publications in America, most were journalistic vehicles for the strong anti-slavery sentiments of their editors and publishers. The titles of the early black periodicals reflected their ideology: *Alienated American*, *Mirror of Liberty*, *the Elevator*, *Freeman's Advocate*, *Palladium of Liberty*, *the Genius of Freedom*, and *Herald of Freedom*. Such titles were grounded in the sentiments of the era and expressed what Michael Schudson has described as, "a kind of agency," reflecting a less passive, more self-conscious expression of an editor's convictions.³

The emergence of the black press corresponded with the popular rise of the "penny press" in the 1830s, itself attributed by historians to a full spectrum of technological, economic and political conditions. Hazel Dicken-Garcia argued that the simultaneous emergence of a diverse ethnic and racial periodicals symbolized "the interjection of the press in shaping society."⁴ Clearly, the early 1800s was a turbulent time for the repressed voices in America, but David Nord also found evidence in the penny press itself of the well-organized efforts of evangelical

³Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books, 1978, p. 17.

⁴Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, p. 23.

Christians to disseminate religious information.⁵ Beneath the appeal for liberation of the black press were religious roots, but they were not without significant conflict and contradiction.

The first black periodical in America, *Freedom's Journal*, appeared on March 16, 1827, carrying a religious epitaph on its masthead: "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation." Further, in the appraisal of one reviewer, *Freedom's Journal* was "packed with a religious wrath."⁶ It was a journalism "almost totally committed to a cause."⁷ There were 130 abolition societies in existence at the time the publication first appeared.

Published by John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish, *Freedom's Journal* was deeply committed to its mission through the concomitant agenda of religious duty, self improvement, and community involvement. Many of the new generation of black leaders believed their race would be vindicated only through cultural and political advancement. Russwurm, a teacher of reading, writing, English grammar and geography, extended free instruction to subscribers of *Freedom's Journal* at a school where he taught in the evenings. The publication subsequently changed its name first to *Colored American* and later to the *Advocate*.

Many of these earliest black publications struggled to sustain moral, as well as financial, support. It was described as "a tumultuous time that was absolutely implausible for most blacks whether they were enslaved or 'free'."⁸ The newspapers

⁵David P. Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," *Journalism Monographs* 88 (May 1984).

⁶Quoted in Wolseley, p. 25.

⁷Ibid, p. 24.

⁸Frankie Hutton, "Democratic Idealism in the Black Press," in F. Hutton and B. Reed, *Outsiders in 19th Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives*, Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, p. 5

appealed to a growing black literati, but the primary audience of literate blacks was not large. Like the anti-slavery movement itself, these periodicals attracted a significant white audience. In one historian's account, "It is likely that the editors wished to influence the whites for they were in a position to help free the black man...."⁹ Other support came from black churches, because of the strong affinity that the black clergy placed on slave liberation. As early as 1796, a grand jury in Charlotte, N.C., had blamed the Quakers for slave unrest.

Samuel Ringgold Ward, one of the anti-slavery editors who was better known as an orator than an journalist, held strong religious convictions and "a press was only one more tool for the advancement of his views."¹⁰ He shared the duties of editing the *Alienated American* with the Rev. J.W.C. Remington and William H. Day. Ward himself later became a Congregationalist minister in 1839.

Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minister and abolitionist editor who was killed in 1937 while defending his press from a hostile mob in Alton, Ill., freely commingled his religious and political activism.¹¹ Lovejoy was well known as the editor of the *St. Louis Times* in the early 1930s, but he put journalism on hold when he enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary to pursue his religious interests.

A group of Protestant businessmen who resolved to start a newspaper in St. Louis to promote religion, morality and education as a means to combat the sinful ways of their city asked Lovejoy to accept the position as editor. They contacted

⁹Wolseley, p. 25.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 29.

¹¹See, for instance, John Gill, *Tide Without Turning: Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press*, Boston: Starr King Press, 1958; and Merton L. Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy: Abolitionist Editor*, Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1961; and Paul Simon, *Freedom's Champion: Elijah Lovejoy*, Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.

Lovejoy, who was traveling and preaching along the East Coast, and he readily accepted their offer.

Lovejoy began to take a moral-religious stand on the issue of slavery. He did it quietly at first, often by quoting another newspaper or magazine. Gradually, his positions became firmer and more militant. He shifted from being concerned only about saving the souls of slaves to confronting the issue of slavery itself. Lovejoy first called for gradual emancipation, but he later became an abolitionist. In the violent climate of the 1830s in St. Louis, neither stand was tolerated by Slavery's proponents.

Although threatened, Lovejoy insisted on the public's right to "hear both sides and let the right triumph." In an editorial published July 21, 1834, he proclaimed that "slavery as it now exists among us, must cease to exist." Seeking safety from those he offended, Lovejoy moved to Alton, Illinois, but mobs there smashed three of his newspaper presses. Defending a fourth press in 1837, Lovejoy was silenced when he was murdered, shocking the nation.

Frederick Douglass was perhaps the best known black orator and journalist of the 19th Century. He lectured for nearly four years for the American Anti-Slavery Society before he first edited his newspaper *North Star*. Most of his early public speeches drew primarily on his experiences as a slave and he was articulate in communicating the personal dimensions of slavery in his life.¹²

There was considerable doubt expressed by Douglass' supporters that editing a newspaper was the best use of his social activism. A person of imposing appearance, it was presumed by many of his sponsors that he could have greater

¹²Philip Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, New York: International Publishers, 1950; Anna Bontemp, *Free at Last: The Life of Frederick Douglass*, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1971; Booker T. Washington, *Frederick Douglass*, New York: Haskell House, 1971; and Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968.

impact directly as an orator and activist.¹³ He proposed using \$2,175 collected by English friends to establish a newspaper. William Lloyd Garrison argued against Douglass' newspaper career, saying: "It would be no gain, but rather a loss to the anti-slavery cause to have him withdrawn to any considerable extent from the work of popular agitation, by assuming the cares, drudgery and perplexities of publishing life...."¹⁴

Douglass' objective, as he explained it, was "to attack slavery in all its forms and aspects, advocate universal emancipation and exact the standard of public morality; promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the colored people; and to hasten the day of freedom...."¹⁵ It was no coincidence that his mission took on a religious-like fervor. Douglass was not wont to make religious allusions in his writing and speaking. On a speaking tour in 1849, he was barred from speaking at churches in Pittsburgh, New Brighton and Youngstown. Eventually invited to stay and speak at the Youngstown Hotel, he was lodged and fed there without charge. He praised the owners' generosity; they "seem ready to show their love for the All Good [Almighty God] by doing good to His children."¹⁶

Douglass also muted his criticism of the churches that had closed their doors to the anti-slavery movement, aware of the potential power of invoking religion into his anti-slavery campaign. After observing growing support for his cause, Douglass wrote:

¹³Patsy Brewington Perry, "Before the *North Star*: Frederick Douglass' Early Journalistic Career," (pp. 55-60) in James S. Tinney and Justine J. Rector, (eds.) *Issues and Trends in Afro-American Journalism*, Jantham, MD: University Press of America.

¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 55.

¹⁵Quoted in Theodore Draper, "The Father of American Black Nationalism," *New York Review of Books*, 14, 5, March 12, 1970, p. 33.

¹⁶Quoted in Perry, p. 58.

Opposition to our holy cause seems stunned. Scarcely a head is seen above the multitude to oppose the triumphant success of our glorious enterprise. The power of Church and State are shaken. The pro-slavery priesthood look woful as they behold their glory departing. The people are fired with a noble inclination against a slaveholding Church, and filled with unutterable loathing of a slave-tracing religion.... Our psalm-singing, praying, pro-slavery priesthood are stamped with hypocrisy; and all their pretensions to a love for God, while they hate and neglect their fellow-man, is branded as impudent blasphemy. The fire is lighted,--let it rise--let it spread. Let the winds of an approving Heaven fan it, and, guided by the hand that stays the thunder-bolt, and directs the storm, its holy flames shall burn up, and utterly consume the last vestige of tyranny in our land.¹⁷

In a published commentary in *North Star*, Douglass outlined the separation of his religious and secular views. Writing about the mundane limitations of prayer in public activism:

Prayer, we are taught, is all-sufficient for all things. This, we also assure our readers is not the case. Never was there a grosser, or more palpable absurdity; and the writer of this is perfectly willing to hazard his reputation, for the good of his brethren, and run the risk of being branded by bigots and hypocrites as a skeptic-and infidel, in giving this

¹⁷Frederick Douglass, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Sept. 1847. Reprinted in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 478.

a positive contradiction. It may be orthodox, so to believe, but it is not in accordance with commonsense--it may be enjoined as revelation, but it is at variance with truth, and contrary to reason and fact.¹⁸

Douglass never entirely resolved in his own mind what should be the proper role of religion in shaping the destiny of the anti-slavery movement. This conflict, according to Frankie Hutton, one of the few black press historians to account for the role of religion among anti-slavery leaders like Douglass, was a matter of dispute issue among the black literati:

Frederick Douglass and some of the other editors...had misgivings about the role of providence in shaping the black man's destiny. Douglass probably realized that early in the century, the church had been a training ground for black leaders in the north who were not afraid to demand equality with white. But his early misgivings about the church and organized religion were shaped for the most part from a connection with abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison who had repudiated the divine inspiration of the scriptures and was himself anti-Sabbatarian.¹⁹

Douglass relationship to Garrison, whose courageous writing in the *Liberator* was very influential in the anti-slavery movement, is a case study of deep ambivalence over competing ideas and careers.²⁰ In a letter to Garrison, Douglass

¹⁸*North Star*, April 12, 1849.

¹⁹Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, p. 116.

²⁰See, for instance, Russell B. Nye, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers*, Boston: Little Brown, 1955; and Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide: A Biography of William Lloyd Garrison*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

revealed the depth of his insight into the vagaries of a slaveholder religion that teaches liberation theology but denies freedom to all its citizens: "Slavery...dictates their laws, gives tone to their literature, and shapes their religion. It stands up in their midst, the only sovereign power in the land."²¹

Douglass eventually softened his strongest negative ideas about the church and the ministry as being proslavery, and managed to partition his beliefs about self-help and industriousness for improvement of his race. He believed appeals to providence and reliance on personal action had to be kept in proper balance. What constituted such a tenuous balance is not readily discerned in the isolated writings of the black editors.

Teaching Liberation Theology to America's Slaves

Religion was a pervasive influence among the earliest Black newspaper editors. Their religious beliefs formed a foundation of social action that eventually won the abolition victory. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, religious influence was often applied as a tool of control by slaveholders, allowing whites greater leverage over the lives of their black slaves. As slaves caught the Christian spirit, an interesting irony developed: their religion took on a distinctly personalized character, providing peace for the repressed by portraying a spiritual life free of bondage. However, the inner solace of salvation cost the slaves a good measure of physical freedom. The religious beliefs that sustained the individual slave's soul simultaneously sustained the slavemaster's authority to restrict his or her freedom.

This contradiction was addressed in statutes in Virginia and New York that established the grounds that baptism did not alter the fundamental condition of

²¹Frederick Douglass to William Lloyd Garrison, April 16, 1846, *Liberator*, June 26, 1846. Reprinted in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 413.

slavery.²² As related by Jacob Stroyer, a slave, religion brought both peace to the slave while suppressing the urge to revolt. In telling his story of a brutal flogging, Stoyer revealed a deeper irony of slave Christianity:

That evening when I went home to father and mother, I said to them, "Mr. Young is whipping me too much now; I shall not stand it, I shall fight him." Father said to me, "You must not do that . . . you must do as I told you, my son; do your work the best that you can, and do not say anything . . . I can do nothing more than pray to the Lord to hasten the time when these things shall be done away; that is all I can do."²³

Many blacks found themselves in a position of believing in a higher power to whom they could appeal over abuse and injustice, one that sanctioned patience that would eventually lead to a utopian freedom. Apparently many slaveholders sought to "save" their slaves because they felt responsible for the Christian mandate to take the gospel "to the ends of the earth." George Armstrong Dodd, a preacher, wrote:

The scriptural theory respecting the origin of slavery, may be stated, in brief, thus--the effect of sin...disobedience to God's laws, upon . . . both individuals and nations is degradation. A people under this influence continued through many generations, sinking so low in the scale of

²²Walter C. Daniel, *Black Journals of the United States*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1982, p. 381.

²³Norrence T. Jones, *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanism of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina*, Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1990, p. 153.

intelligence and morality as to become incapable of righteous self-government.²⁴

Some whites extended belief to a religious duty to enslave Africans in order to bring them to God; other saw Christianity as a tool, like a whip, that would allow greater power over slaves. One such man, identified in historical documents simply as Oswald, articulated the reasoning of many slave owners to "teach . . . Africans their genealogy" through the Bible, in a pamphlet published in 1791:

[S]end out a cargo of Bibles [and] teach the unfortunate Africans their genealogy and that their sufferings are owing to their ancestor Ham. (And) endeavor to endear the (Europeans) to their hearts by persuading them of the inferiority of their species that they may derive religious consolation, and look up to their masters, mistresses and their kind guardians, the negro drivers, with more awe and reverence.²⁵

Even if slave owners felt a religious responsibility to preach the Christian gospel, they generally did not overemphasize the doctrine of liberation, preferring to pick and choose those doctrines which would be most appropriate for slave conditions and economic imperatives. The goal was to make sure that slaves were taught only that which would ensure continued field and estate productivity as a condition of inner-religious freedom.

By the early 1800's some preachers were touting the benefits of "saved slaves". They were believed to be easier to control, to have more internal restraint,

²⁴George Dodd Armstrong, "The Christian Doctrine of Slavery," New York. 1857, p. 1.

²⁵Oswald, "Essays on the Subject of Slave Trade," Philadelphia. 1791, pp. 6-7.

and to receive correction more humbly.²⁶ The idea of controlling the slave through religious means appealed to many slaveholders, and sparked lively debate on the topics suitable for the instruction of bondsmen. Pamphlets published during the slave era illustrated the points of ideology favored by slaveholders and preachers. Whites generally held that teaching blacks should be "confined to that part of the Bible which shows the duties of servants and the rights of masters"²⁷ W.B. Seabrook was one such writer. He affirmed: "A merciful Savior and not a revengeful God should, in the main, be presented to his [the slave's] mind. Speak to him . . . and persuade him to approach the throne of Jehovah by obeying those few and simple laws . . . essential to his future happiness."²⁸

Other like-minded people thought that simply leaving out some parts of the Bible was not radical enough. They sought to make real changes in the ordinances and scriptures available to blacks. A tract titled "Negroes and Religion," published in 1863 asked, "Should not a commutation service . . . or a form of cursing or excommunication . . . be inserted into the Prayer book, for the warning and intimidation of black Christians, who may be tempted by Satan to think of unlawful emigration toward the ungenial regions of the north?" The author sought for changes in the ordinances of the church by asking that the marriage vow be changed from "till death do us part," to "till death, or my owner, his executors, administrators or assignees, do us part." Burial rites were to be changed from blessing the dead person as "our deceased brother," to "this deceased biped," or "this defunct individual black man." These changes in liturgy were sought in order to prevent

²⁶Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830-1860, with special reference to South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History* 15, 1930, pp. 72-114.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸W.B. Seabrook, "An essay on the management of slaves and especially their religious instruction," Charleston A.E. Miller, 1834: p. 23.

slaves from believing that they were equal with their masters. The changes were designed to "abstract all the attributes of humanity."²⁹

As these modifications to Christian doctrine became more popular among slaveholders, a growing population of believing blacks emerged.³⁰ W.B. Seabrook convinced many slaveholders that "the deeper the piety of the slave, the more valued he is in every sense of the word. Christianity truly taught . . . cannot fail to render the slave population more tranquil."³¹ In essence, "both ecclesiastical and temporal masters hoped that what the cowhides of mortals did not accomplish, the lash of God would accomplish."³²

Experience began to affirm that Christianized slaves were, for the most part, easier to control. Despite the exhortations of a few dynamic negro leaders, such as Nat Turner and Denmark Vessey, the majority of Christian blacks felt duty-bound to remain passive and refuse to revolt. Christianity itself became a factor in creating a sense of resistance of these slaves to the winds of revolutionary change.

The pragmatic doctrines taught to slaves could be summed up as "stay, pray and obey."³³ The success of this teaching was extolled by a white preacher who claimed: "After one of my sermons . . . a [slave] woman got a hold of the key of the house where the molasses was kept. She went to steal some . . . and when she had

²⁹"Negroes and Religion," Charleston, 1863: pp. 1-4.

³⁰David Christy. "Pulpit Politics," Cincinnati Farran and McLean, 1863, pp. 215-221.

³¹Jackson, "Religious Instruction," p. 71.

³²Jones, Norrence T. *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina*, Hanover, New Hampshire: University of New England Press, 1990, p. 132.

³³Ibid.

put the key in the door, she stood motionless, having no power to open it."³⁴

Experiences such as these promoted the evangelization of slaves. In the end, slave owners hoped that by teaching a slanted view of the Kingdom of God, blacks would "choose to be the servant of all."³⁵

As the population of Christian slaves increased, blacks participated more actively in worship services. Initially slaveholders opposed this activity, believing that too much freedom in open worship would foster revolt.³⁶ However, within a short time the advantages of having black preachers became evident. Black preachers were widely respected by their congregations, allowing their teachings to sink deeper into the hearts than the sermons of their masters. Black preachers frequently were given a great deal of incentive to preach the liberation-free theology. They were granted money for church development, hired by plantation owners to preach on Sundays, and held up to their peers as the "ideal negro".³⁷ Such incentives may have been inviting to the natural black leaders seeking respect in a era of rising racial consciousness.

The black ministry brought yet another perspective to the doctrines of Christianity. It focused on the daily struggles of the slaves, and understood the deep needs of their flocks for a sense of acceptance and unity. Many of the sermons of these preachers reveal an intense desire to make Christianity a personal issue, emphasizing moral integrity and individual commitment. These beliefs were

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Henry M.D. Holcombe, "Suggestions as to the spiritual philosophy. . .," New York: Mason Bros., 1861.

³⁶Thornton Stringfellow, "A brief examination of the scriptural testimony on the institution of slavery," *Richmond, Va. The Religious Herald*, 1841: note D.

³⁷Jones, "Child of Freedom," p. 149.

recounted in the folk culture of the blacks. Slave folklore has a rich heritage of visions of a better life, free from the bonds of slavery. Slaves were able to bring Christ to their windows, see angels in the sky, hear the voice of God, and feel the power of his arm.³⁸ This ability to make Christianity a mundane reality helped slaves endure the hardships of their times. Feeling powerless to change the order of society, slaves turned to God to find the inner strength to endure. Slaves rarely went to God in an effort to find sanction for rebellion, or to ask for his help in redressing the many wrongs of the system. Rather, slaves turned to God to find patience. This peace of the heart was felt more deeply due to the sympathetic teachings of black preachers.

Sermons preached by blacks endowed Christ with the qualities that slaveholders hoped to foster in their slaves. Myths about Jesus were prevalent--how he worked from dawn to dusk and didn't ever make a sound.³⁹ One preacher taught that their God "never learned nuth'n' but whuckin' an' prayin'."⁴⁰ Slaves were instructed that they were not to learn or think, their's was simply the duty to "gid out in the fiel'."⁴¹

When compared to literal Biblical accounts, Christ neither worked in the fields from dawn to dusk, nor confined his study to work and prayer. Such myths, however, were emotionally powerful affirmations for the slave. They were able to relate to a God who had experienced their lives and travails. Surely a God that worked as they worked, and was as restricted as they were, would understand their

³⁸Mason J. Brewer, *American Negro Folklore*, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968; Jones, *Child of Freedom*; Timothy L. Smith, "Slavery and Theology: The Emergence of Black Christian Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America. *Church History*., p. 41.

³⁹Mason J. Brewer, *American Negro Folklore*, p. 126.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 126.

prayers and would bring peace to their troubled hearts. These myths of Jesus created a more personal Jesus, a Jesus with whom they could relate.

In their oral traditions, black's sermons were rarely transcribed into manuscripts. Most slaves were illiterate and most of their masters believed black sermons were better left unrecorded. One of the few preachers whose sermons were transcribed was Rev. Flowers who taught:

God has seven heavens so that he can keep all races separate. All you niggers that think you gwine to set down and eat wid de white folks at the feast of de' Lamb am gwine to be disappointed. De whit folks ain't gwine stand for nuthin' like that. . . De New Jerusalem ain't gwine to be no 'coon town . . . dat town am gwine to be strictly for the white folks, and no nigger is gwine to have the chance to git any further.⁴²

There was no pretense of "separate but equal" conditions in slave theology. Slaves were taught that they would be relegated to a lesser heaven, where they would not enjoy the blessing of eating with their savior. Their's would be a segregated heaven where they would be unable to "git any further." As the personal Jesus personified the ideal slave, Heaven was also depicted as being similar to Earth. Identification with the spiritual may have been more important than mundane reality. It didn't matter if heaven was integrated, it only mattered that heaven was imaginable.

The public religious experience of the slaves was left to the whim of their white masters. Following the rebellions of Nat Turner, slaveholders endorsed legislation intended to keep the slave illiterate. Reading the Bible was prohibited,

⁴²Brewer, p. 135.

as was the freedom of blacks to preach. White's fears restrained a great deal of black worship.⁴³ Despite these efforts, slaves still found ways to meet together to share the consolation of their god. Slaves would often meet in secluded woods, seeking the brotherhood that only a church family could provide. Contrary to what their masters would believe, these illegal gatherings were religious rather than political assemblies.⁴⁴ They were moments of respite from their brutal world of bondage.

Despite the buoying social and emotional function of the church family, the actual doctrines taught to negroes in the early 1800's reinforced the rigid social standard between blacks and whites. Sermons delivered by both white and black preachers fortified the idea that negroes were inferior and thus undeserving of freedom.⁴⁵ In essence, slave religion brought spiritual peace and healing while perpetuating the cause of the discord and pain. The ability Christianity granted blacks to endure may have cost them the changes for which they prayed.

This unfortunate side of slave Christianity was exactly what many slaveholders wanted. If Jesus was content working in the fields, why shouldn't the slave be content with the same? If Heaven was segregated, how could the slave hope for equality on Earth? Many slaveholders did all they could to perpetuate these sentiments. They hoped black slaves would not be taught anything more than the basic themes of obedience and humility.

Slaveholders often underestimated the intelligence and commitment of many of their blacks. In a rare example of correspondence between James Pennington, a

⁴³Michael R. Bradley, "The Role of the Black Church in the Colonial Slave Society," *Southern Studies* 14, 1975, pp. 413-21.

⁴⁴Jones, *Child of Freedom*, p. 139.

⁴⁵Holcombe.

fugitive slave, and his family still held in bondage, there was expressed profound sense of religious understanding and commitment:

If the course I took in leaving a condition which had become intolerable to me, has been made the occasion of making that condition worse to you in any way, I do most heartily regret such a change for the worse on your part. As I have no means, however, of knowing if such be the fact, so I have no means of making atonement, but by sincere prayer to Almighty God in your behalf.... Let me urge upon you the fundamental truths of the Gospel of the Son of God. Let repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ have their perfect work in you, I beseech you. Do not be prejudiced against the gospel because it may be seemingly twisted into a support for slavery. The gospel rightly understood, taught, received, felt and practised, is anti-slavery as it is anti-sin. Just so far and so fast as the true spirit of the gospel obtains in the land, and especially in the lives of the oppressed, will the spirit of slavery sicken and become powerless like the serpent with his head pressed beneath the fresh leaves of the prickly ash of the forest.⁴⁶

When religious congregations in New York and elsewhere in the northeastern United States began weighing in on abolition, they were treading into deep water. A pastoral letter from a bishop to the parish clergyman of St. Philip's Church in New York City offered strong advice:

⁴⁶Letter from James Pennington to his family, written in 1844. Reprinted in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 645.

Let me advise you to resign, at one, your connexion, in every department with the Anti-Slavery Society, and to make public your resignation. I cannot now give you all my reasons.... Let it be seen that on whichever side right may be, St. Philip's Church will be found on the Christian side of meekness, order, and self-sacrifice to common good, and the peace of the community.⁴⁷

In his correspondence with the leaders of a Baptist Church in rural Virginia, a fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, commented on the strained commingling of political and religious laws applied to bondage. Burns ran away from his slaveholder and refused to return: "--thereby disobeying both the laws of God and man...." The leaders of the church published a notice in the *Front Royal Gazette*, (Nov. 8, 1855) that Burns had been excommunicated. In his own defense, Burns countered:

I admit that I left my master (so called), and refused to return; but I deny that in this I disobeyed either the law of God, or any real law of men.... I was stolen and made a slave as soon as I was born. No man had any right to steal me. That manstealer who stole me trampled on my dearest rights. He committed an outrage on the law of God.... God made me a man--not a slave; and gave me the same right to myself that he gave the man who stole me to himself.... You charge me that, in escaping, I disobeyed God's law. No, indeed! That law which God wrote on the table of my heart, inspiring the love of freedom, and impelling me

⁴⁷Letter from Bishop Onderdonk to the Rev. Peter Williams, July 12, 1834. Reprinted in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 629.

to seek it at every hazard, I obeyed, and, by the good hand of my God upon me, I walked out of the house of bondage.⁴⁸

Another slave said that his master, a Baptist preacher, mentioned the gospel only when whipping slaves. The so-called man of God would recite: "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not will be beaten with many stripes."⁴⁹ Such experiences were indicative of the limits of Christianity to which many slaves were exposed.

Defining the limits of the struggle within the context of the religious principles they embraced became the mission for many black leaders. Writing to his former master, freed slave William W. Brown appealed for his brethern on religious grounds:

You profess to be a Christian, and yet you are one of those who have done more to bring contempt upon Christianity in the United States, by connecting that religion with slavery, than all other causes combined... their hands are crimsoned with the blood of their victims... In behalf of your slaves, I ask you, in the name of the God whom you profess to worship, to take the chains from their limbs, and to let them go free. It is a duty that you owe to God, to the slave, and to the world.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Anthony Burns, in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 659-662.

⁴⁹Smith, Timothy L. "Slavery and Theology," p. 499.

⁵⁰William W. Brown to Enoch Price, published originally in *Liberator*, Dec. 14, 1849. Reprinted in Carter G. Woodson (Ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 214.

These appeals were self-consciously written for public reading in the black newspapers. It was a message that meshed ideologically with the larger purpose of the new publishing enterprise. As an editor in a black Alabama newspaper opined: "Life is a battle, and if we must fight, fight for righteousness sake, fight for character, fight for a good name, fight against sin, fight against strong drinks, fight for virtue and morality, fight to be a man for all that."⁵¹

Despite the liberation that slaveholder's Christianity promised the slave's soul, religion continued to prevent actual change in the social system which daily robbed them of their humanity.⁵² Christianity, as taught to and practiced by the black slaves, allowed slaveholders to wield greater control in the lives of their human property. As long as religion saved the slaves and pushed them to live up to the example of a mythical god and to reach a mythical heaven, masters could sleep more securely knowing it was unlikely their slaves would revolt.⁵³

Summary

Even while the Christian doctrine taught--and accepted--by many black slaves encouraged a more docile and accepting *mentalité* than could otherwise have been achieved by force alone, their repression could not endure indefinitely. If the religious persuasion of "stay, pray and obey" was effective in holding slaves to accept the regulation and exploitation of a slaveholder's

⁵¹Allen Woodrow Jones, "Alabama," in *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*, Henry Lewis Suggs (Ed.), (pp. 23-63). Westport, CN: Greenwood Press.

⁵²"Negroes and Religion," p. 4.

⁵³Eugene D. Genovese, "Black Plantation Preachers in the Slave South," *Louisiana Studies* 11, Fall 1972), p. 141.

adaptation of religion, the promise of freedom embedded in that religion would eventually overturn such exploitation.

When the repressed culture found its "voice," first through *Freedom's Journal* in 1827, and later in other periodicals of the era, it was not unexpected, nor out of character, for religious themes to predominate, both in form and content. Those themes carried the bulwark of aspirational values among those who sought to enter the emerging black middle class in America. They were explicit in the work of the Christian liberationist journalists like Elijah P. Lovejoy. While not every black editor espoused such overt religiosity, it was a contradictory counter theme in the democratic expressions for many of them, particularly for Frederick Douglass.

Because of the religious roots of black slave society, the black press followed a middle path: it was not unduly sanctimonious, not did it espouse violent confrontation over the injustices of slavery. Most black editors avoided even reporting news of crime, a common affliction in the swelling urban centers in New York and other slave-free centers of New England where many of the earliest publications appeared. They believed that it was better to emphasize aspirational values. In general, such publications exhibited the same kind of genteel patience cultivated by generations of "saved slaves."

Nevertheless, the editors and publishers were on a mission informed by religious zeal and evangelical urgency. Because of this orientation of many black editors and their supporters to restrain their outrage at the atrocities of slavery, the black press became "an anomaly that attenuated none of the real problems plaguing free blacks or those in slavery," in the view of Frankie Hutton.⁵⁴ If the black press made its mark by avoiding the continuum of confrontation with white leaders on important issues and problems, and

⁵⁴Hutton, p. 157.

showcasing the best of the emerging class of black literati, it was a subtle and powerful expression of the very religious doctrine that had been used to restrain slaves in their former bonds. The adaptation of this anomaly from religiosity to democratic idealism was indeed turbulent, for it was an expression of the same intensely personal motives that was typical of most newspapers of the era. In these ways, the black press kept hope alive and opened an effectual door for the dissolution of slavery as one of the bleakest chapters in American national experience.

#

WHY DID WOMEN JOURNALISTS LEAVE THE NEWSROOM?: STORIES OF QUITTING

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This paper examines the lives and careers of ten women who sought journalism careers in the mid-twentieth-century, but then left the newsrooms: Marie Manning, known as advice columnist Beatrice Fairfax; New York World staffer Elizabeth Jordan; Mary Margaret McBride, who eventually turned to radio; Edna Ferber, who went on to write novels, short stories, and plays; Kathryn Windham, who covered the civil rights movement for Alabama newspapers; foreign correspondents Frances Davis and Charlotte Ebener; Adela Rogers St. Johns, who alternated between journalism and Hollywood; as well as Ellen Tarry, who wrote for African American weeklies; and Alice Allison Dunnigan, who worked for the Associated Negro Press. The primary resource is their autobiographies, which are an important avenue for studying the nature of the journalism workplace, including whose voices or ways of doing things have been excluded. The research contradicts the then-dominant notion that women left journalism jobs happily, in order to devote themselves to their families. Nearly all the women studied, both those who married and those who did not, were propelled by financial exigencies.

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WHY DID WOMEN JOURNALISTS LEAVE THE NEWSROOM?: STORIES OF QUITTING

In her autobiography, Adela Rogers St. Johns recalled the dilemma she faced in 1918 when she was invited to write about Hollywood for a new magazine: "Here indeed was an unheralded unrecognized big Moment for young Mrs. St. Johns of the Herald, wife of Ike, mother of Elaine and Bill" (St. Johns, 1969, p. 114). The issue was whether St. Johns was willing to leave the Los Angeles Herald. Although the city room was a firetrap and a test tube for germs, she said, she and her colleagues loved the Herald, and hated to leave it.

The offer to St. Johns, who lived from 1894 to 1988, happened to come in the wake of an argument with her husband, who had left the Herald to manage political campaigns, about her absences from home. Already unhappy with her childcare arrangements, Rogers St. Johns decided to accept the Photoplay job. St. Johns, whose previous magazine experience was writing pulp fiction, spent the next several years writing celebrity profiles, fiction and movie scripts. But St. Johns emphasized that the sole advantage of magazines was that she could work from home. Later, in denying the accusation that she was using the "careers-for-women" issue to inflate her importance, St. Johns said: "Newspaper work is the most exciting thing in the world to me, it's where I live. I would do it for nothing... I love my work, not my career" (1969, p. 32).

St. Johns' decision to leave the Herald might seem to confirm the expectation then prevalent that women would quit reporting when they got married, or at least once they had children. Nonetheless, beyond this conventional assumption, reporters' reasons for quitting are seldom studied. Journalism historians generally ignore former journalists. Studying journalism's "defectors," however, brings into focus significant features of newsroom labor. Understanding whose voices or ways of doing things may have been consistently excluded helps explain journalism practice. It illustrates worksite power relations and shows who has helped whom. It reveals the nature of workers' commitments to profession and employer as well as the potential limits of those commitments.

On the premise that studying journalism's defectors reveals important features of journalism work, this paper examines the lives of ten women to examine why they left the newsroom in the early and mid-

twentieth century.¹ The nine represent a range of reputations, from famous to fairly unknown. The primary materials for the research are reporters' autobiographies, which allow for detailed investigation into these women's agonizing over professional problems and career decisions, especially leave-taking. Besides Adela Rogers St. Johns, the women studied were Marie Manning, known as advice columnist Beatrice Fairfax, New York World staffer Elizabeth Jordan, Edna Ferber, who went on to win a Pulitzer in fiction; Frances Davis, who covered the Spanish Civil War; Charlotte Ebener, a globally-travelling foreign correspondent; Mary Margaret McBride, who eventually turned to radio; Kathryn Tucker Windham, who covered the civil rights movement in Alabama; Ellen Tarry, who wrote for African American newspapers; and Alice Allison Dunnigan, who worked for the Associated Negro Press. The goal is not to provide biographies of each, but to examine what these women said about their commitment to journalism and why they left.

ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WOMEN

Vocational counselling literature, journalism textbooks, journalism histories, and the testimony of editors and publishers long emphasized that, as the New York Evening Sun's John Given put it, "reporting is not woman's work" (1907, p. 279). Many editors and publishers first justified this assertion by citing the job's physical difficulty and inherent dangerousness. Others emphasized women's (dis)abilities, that is, their inability to be logical and accurate. But especially when women continued to apply for newspaper jobs and to succeed when hired, another rationale became dominant. Women were unlikely to remain on the job, making futile the editors' investments of time and energy in training them. The issue was not so much that they were using journalism as a stepping stone to better careers--although career literature then vigorously warned against relying on journalism as preparation for writing fiction. Rather, the issue was that women would leave to get married. Notably, in describing reporting as a career for *young* men, given poor pay and long irregular hours, vocational counselling books did not criticize males who left journalism for the calmer and more profitable waters of advertising and public relations (Steiner, 1994).

Objections to women based on their marriage prospects grew increasingly vehement in mid-century

career advice literature. One 1959 book about journalism careers quoted the editor of the Des Moines Register: "We hire many talented young women. If they would stay with us our newsroom would be a much more attractive place. Unhappily for us, most of them leave in a short time for the joys of marriage and motherhood..." (Gemmill and Kilgore, 1959, p. 76). Another journalism careers book quoted Bernard Kilgore, publisher of the Wall Street Journal and co-editor of the 1959 book cited above, justifying the Journal's prejudice against women, on grounds that women "don't make a career of it" (Ryan and Ryan, 1963, p. 128). Similarly, Herbert Brucker, a noted journalist on the Columbia University faculty, said (1962) that prospective employers can count on women to marry as soon as they learn their way around the newsroom. Your Career in Journalism explained in detail why metropolitan editors resist hire women. Reasons included: "He has a fixed idea that you are really not serious about newspaper work," "He's afraid you'll get married and quit just when you've started to be of some use to him" and "If you are married, he figures you will become pregnant and quit" (Stein, 1965, p. 105).

Female experts, who typically addressed themselves to women readers, offered similar advice. Lady Editor quoted Mary Knight, a former United Press foreign correspondent then doing public relations, who attributed editors' reluctance to hiring women to their "negative" experiences: "Women have entered the service out of a desire for adventure and when that desire is satiated they marry and leave or just leave to go on to some other job" (Shuler et al. 1941, p. 80) (Knight said her UP boss was furious when she left Paris after he had trained her. Her own 1938 autobiography did not indicate that she had apparently quit journalism by the time the book appeared.)² Students attending a 1951 meeting of a journalism sorority were advised not to try to combine domestic and professional responsibilities: "You would be much happier to take the emotional warmth of your house and your family and forget your career" (quoted in Beasley and Theus, 1988, p. 33).

Reporting textbooks published mid-century agreed that women were all too quick to abandon the newsroom (Steiner, 1992). A textbook by the director of the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism

stated: "Few women reach the top because they desert their careers for matrimony" (Hyde, 1952, p. 306). Similarly, Modern News Reporting said: "A good many young women treat a job as a stopgap between school and marriage.... Some women who continue working after marriage often are absent because of illness at home, confinement periods or just for shopping. Nobody can blame an employer for taking these things into consideration" (Warren, 1951, p. 8).

Was this a valid explanation for refusing to hire women or an excuse? Did early and mid-twentieth century women pursue reporting jobs merely as a stopgap measure, as a short-term route to pocket money or opportunities to hobnob with glamorous, powerful people? Did women who quit journalism do so to marry and raise children? How did they confront those "unheralded Big Moments," to echo St. Johns? Did defectors quit as gladly and cheerfully as the journalism textbooks and career counselling books claimed? Did they ever return? What was the connection between quitting and newsroom conditions or the kinds of work to which these women were assigned?

Discussions of women's impact on journalism education continue to assert that, at least through the mid-century, women commonly chose to "marry and devote themselves to being wives and mothers after a short-fling career" (Beasley and Theus, 1988, p. 31). Relevant data is sparse, however. A 1934-36 survey of 881 salaried women writers, done for a PhD dissertation, found that fifty percent had never married and 42 percent were married (Logie, 1938). This data, however, conflated different age groups as well as different professional fields. Newspaper workers were half her total sample, ten percent were in advertising and public relations, twenty percent were teaching or doing clerical work, others were in magazines or freelancing. Seven percent of the sample were full-time homemakers.

According to a 1952 survey, 88 percent of the women who graduated from journalism schools in 1941 were married within ten years after graduation, which matched equivalent-aged U.S. women (Jones, 1953).³ Jones noted that 98 percent of the graduates had worked at some point during the decade. Not surprisingly, the percentage of those working peaked at 77 percent in 1942, the year after graduation. The

percentage declined to a low of 26 percent but then rose again: One-third were working in 1951. Jones found that one-third of those graduates who held more than one job had changed fields. Many of them began at newspapers but then moved into public relations. Others went into editing, advertising, or non-journalistic employment. Half of these women switched before marriage.

Somewhat more recent statistical analyses suggest that pay, and, to a lesser degree working conditions, have been the problem (Wilson 1966; Samuelson, 1962). Johnstone's data from 1971, when one-fifth of the journalists were female, included "satisfaction" with journalism: "Despite high labor turnover and folklore to the contrary, journalists as a group are not particularly dissatisfied with their lot" (Johnstone et al, 1976, p. 142). This finding needs clarification, however: While nearly 70 percent of the sample said they expected to be working for the same organization in five years, this ranged from about 26 percent among the youngest group to 88 percent in the oldest group. The study did not indicate marital status but it noted that women were overrepresented among the "stayers" in the sample. Johnstone found that job satisfaction was somewhat higher among women, although they certainly were not earning as much as men. On the other hand, overall those who apparently planned to quit were primarily the lowest paid (and) lowest ranking). Secondary analysis of the Johnstone data suggested that married reporters were more likely to be committed to journalism, and women were more professionally oriented than men (Becker et al. 1981).

A decade later, Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) found that 42% female journalists were married, compared to 62% of male journalists, whereas 65% of female journalists had children, 75% of male female journalists had children. By 1982-83, when their data was collected, gender no longer helped predict job satisfaction. Weaver and Wilhoit found that low pay was still the primary reason for leaving journalism. Nonetheless, at least among older journalists, being unmarried was one of several factors associated with dissatisfaction. On the other hand, single and childless reporters were "a little less likely now to say they want to leave the field than [were] their married colleagues" (1986, p. 99).⁴

THE VALUE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Autobiography is an invaluable resource for addressing questions of people's work experiences, including why they might leave work. Histories of journalism work tend to be most useful when they attend to what workers themselves have said (Hardt, 1995). Yet, as Hardt (1995) points out, biographies--and typically only famous journalists rate such treatment--celebrate institutions rather than reflecting on the process of editorial labor. Autobiography, conversely, has consistently been maximally expressive of the writer's own voice and accessible to diverse voices. As a genre, autobiography accommodates the individualistic culture of the United States. Yet, read as a group, autobiographies reveal how people account for their work. Not everyone's self-writing story has been published. Moreover, some writers have needed years to complete their life stories or to find publishers, so some autobiographies, including some of those examined here, have appeared long after retirement.⁵ Yet extraordinary individuals have not monopolized the genre. In a *Harper's* editorial note, William Dean Howells commented that autobiography is not restricted to "any age or sex, creed, class, or color" and thus constitutes the most "democratic province in the republic of letters" (1909, p. 798).

Scholars often emphasize how autobiographers creatively reconstruct events to make sense of their lives. Usually, scholars say, the basis is self-conscious or unconscious motives, not failure of memory, as the lapse of time just mentioned might suggest. One early study of the genre (Bates 1937) warned readers to reconcile themselves to being deceived by autobiographers.⁶ This theme continues to undergird discussions of autobiography, particularly in literary studies. Clearly, autobiographers must respond to the demands of editors and publishers, friends and family, as well as the demands of their psyches and the marketplace. As a result, the self constructed in autobiography cannot equal the self who lived. Several of the women studied here warned readers that they would occasionally be coy about personal information. St. Johns, for example, noted at one point: "I am inclined to embellish, to twist to suit my purposes or prove my point, and we all

forget some" (1969, p. 146). Ellen Tarry announced: "I have omitted the telling of certain events because their inclusion might have infringed upon good taste and in no way would they contribute to the total effect of this volume. Some of these omissions were necessary to safeguard the welfare of innocent persons" (1955, p. viii).

On the other hand, as reporters or former reporters, these autobiographers were more likely to disdain tell-all soul-baring, but not truthfulness per se. While she mocked the "emetic or regurgitation school of writing," Edna Ferber promised: "Imagination has no chance here: fancy is not free but shackled. The plump and determined seventeen year-old reporter on the Appleton, Wisconsin, Crescent will not be permitted to turn into a thing of lithe loveliness at sight of whose beauty strong men turn pale and women bite their handkerchiefs and faint" (1939, p. 13). Alice Dunnigan insisted: "[This autobiography] is based on raw facts, uninhibited, unembellished and unvarnished. No punches are pulled, no rough stones left unturned, no skeletons pushed into the closet, no shady incidents shoved under the bed, no hideous ogres hidden behind the door and no ugly blemishes eradicated or shellacked" (1974, p. i). Indeed, these women may self-indulgently rationalized those interruptions of their journalism careers. Nonetheless, recurring themes presumably represent general issues. If nothing else, women's autobiographies show that they felt compelled to defend themselves and to account for their career decisions in ways that imply, if not explicitly provide, useful advice. Tarry, for example, said, "This story is...told so that future generations may avoid the mistakes of our time, so that they may know the price we have paid for tomorrow" (1955, p. viii). Again, even more emphatically, Dunnigan said, "It is my fondest hope that this story of my life and work will, by interpretation, investigation, information and inspiration, encourage more young writers to use their talents as a moving force in the forward march of progress" (1974, p. iii). These stories also urge a challenge to historical assumptions about women's interests and abilities, including as they relate to women's ability to succeed in the journalism classroom and workplace.

Autobiography has been particularly important within Afro-American prose. Nineteenth century black women used autobiographical spiritual narratives to challenge male church officials who tried to prevent women from preaching (McKay, 1989).⁷ Another way black women explored the genre was in slave narratives, such as Harriet Jacob's well-known Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, published in 1861. These were openly political in their denunciation of slavery and their call to recognize the secular humanity and rights of blacks. Identity issues and the bitter tension between race and gender continue to be central to black women's autobiographies (Blackburn, 1980; Fox-Genovese, 1988).

More "general" scholarship suggests that women's autobiographies emphasize domesticity, sentimentality, and passivity. Scholars looking at the self-writing of white women find that women rarely admit their ambition or interest in public power, even highly accomplished women accept responsibility for failure but attribute their success to luck (Conway, 1992; Heilbrun, 1988; Spacks, 1980). Jelinek (1980) asserts that women's autobiographies deemphasize the public aspects of their lives, concentrating instead on domestic details, family difficulties, close friends, and people who influenced them. "This emphasis by women on the personal, especially on other people, rather than on their work life, their professional success, or their connectedness to current political or intellectual history clearly contradicts the established criterion about the content of autonomy" (Jelinek, 1980, p. 10).

Autobiographies by women journalists lack the personal and domestic emphases apparently characteristic of white women's self-writing (Steinēr, 1997). Unless it was to recount an amusing tale about a misinformed reader or eccentric colleague who was proposing romance, few of them said anything about romantic relationships. The married reporters studied here said very little about their husbands, children, marriage per se or childrearing. St. Johns pretended to forget the name of her second husband--a man who, shortly after she had spent a month covering the kidnapping trial of Bruno Hauptmann, filed a custody suit claiming that she was an unfit mother.⁸ They usually assumed rather than described the difficulty of

maintaining a stable personal life while serving at the beck and call of editors. On the other hand, they share a consciousness of membership in a female community and culture--an identification with women--that marks black and white women's autobiographical writing. Notably, whether their newspaper careers spanned many years or ended after a few years, and whether they composed their autobiographies long after leaving journalism or they were still professionally involved, women journalists' autobiographies have consistently focussed on their journalism careers and they present journalism work as not only what is most memorable but also presumably the most interesting to readers.

QUITTING AFTER MARRIAGE

Marie Manning, known as Beatrice Fairfax to readers of her advice column, might first seem readily to accommodate male editors' and publishers' expectations that women journalists should stick to writing for and about women. Manning (1875-1945)⁹ had "stumbled into the newspaper game" when she met New York World editor Arthur Brisbane at a dinner party (1944). Hearing that she had always "adored the printed word," revered everyone connected with journalism and her dream was to work for a newspaper, Brisbane invited the twenty year-old Manning for an interview. She immediately left for New York. An orphan, Manning could have lived on her inheritance. But her head was "full of the new idea of careers for women" (1944, p. 13). After she scooped colleagues by getting an interview with ex-President Cleveland, Joseph Pulitzer gave her a \$50 bonus and shifted her from space rates to the payroll. In 1897, when Brisbane, as had many World employees, moved to Hearst's New York Evening Journal, she followed.¹⁰ There, along with Anne O'Hagen and another woman, she dutifully helped put out the women's page, although the real satisfaction was her general reporting assignments. The three women were not allowed desks in that "involute masculine stronghold," the city room. Instead, they were consigned to an area known as the Hen Coop. Occasionally editors punished men by sending them to the Coop. "Forcing a man to work in the same room with us was the equivalent of sending a dog to the pound or standing a child in the corner"

(1944, p. 126).

In 1898, Brisbane brought over some letters from readers, including a mother abandoned by her husband and a suicidal girl forsaken by her lover. Manning proposed a confessional department "promising unbiased opinions and friendly advice" (p. 34). Within days the "Letters from the Lovelorn" column was receiving sacks of mail and "circulation zoomed like an ascending airplane" (p. 36). To her relief, Manning could distinguish herself from her nom de plume and the city room regularly summoned her for assignments. In particular, her articles about the women's suffrage movement were published in increasing numbers once she and O'Hagen realized that the "masculine hierarchy" found women's suffrage more newsworthy when stories mentioned in-fighting at meetings. Henceforth, they not only looked for fights, but created them.

In 1905 Manning married a real estate dealer and moved back to Washington, D. C. Her autobiography did not indicate whether she wanted to leave journalism. She merely said that Washington had few writing folk, and women were restricted to society work. She published several magazine stories and during World War I she freelanced for Brisbane. Otherwise, she apparently devoted herself to homemaking for nearly a quarter-century. Notably, after mentioning her love for her husband, garden, animals and two sons, her autobiography otherwise ignored this domestic period. The clear implication is that only her journalism experiences would interest readers. In any case, as explained in a chapter titled "Stock Market 'Paper Riches' Oblige Me to Return to Newspaper Work," Manning begged Brisbane for a job after the 1929 crash. Brisbane reassigned her to the Beatrice Fairfax column, then carried by 200 newspapers through King Features.¹¹ In a chapter called "It Seems that at Last Women are Becoming People," Manning said: "Those two ancient pious frauds, 'the woman's angle' and the 'teary bit' have mercifully gone into the discard" (p. 227). The claim did not describe her own career. Hearst's International News Service limited Manning to the women's angle.

Adela Rogers St. Johns might likewise seem to confirm editors' expectations about undependable,

irresponsible female journalists. Like Manning, however, St. Johns's life story complicates those assumptions and challenges the image of the dilettante reporter. Her father Earl Rogers, a famous lawyer, had introduced her to William Randolph Hearst, saying he would rather see her dead than a criminal lawyer. So, at age 18 she went to work for Hearst's San Francisco Examiner. In 1914 she went to the Los Angeles Herald. Editors Jack Campbell and Walter Howey initially assigned her the hotel beat but soon had her covering crime, city hall, and sports.

She continued to work after marriage. When she miscarried, she threw herself into her work, in part because she had no one to talk to about her misery. But by 1920, she and Ike St. Johns had two children. They moved to Hollywood, where she earned money by writing magazines articles, fiction, and eight movie scripts. She said she "hated" doing scripts (except, perhaps, writing two westerns for Tom Mix) and equated Hollywood with Vanity Fair. She used the first excuse she could find to get back into the news business. That return as a sports reporter apparently triggered--but she claimed did not cause--her 1929 divorce.

St. Johns' second marriage, apparently precipitated by pregnancy, was unhappy. The husband, a football player, "objected with violence, sometimes public, to being Mrs. St. Johns" (1969, p. 262). She therefore retreated from the workplace and tried to survive on fiction. Nonetheless, another call from "Mr. Hearst," to whom she was always loyal, brought her back to the Examiner. She first wrote a sixteen-part series exposing the misery of unemployed women that precipitated libel suits and accusations of "yellow journalism" but also brought reforms. St. Johns said, "What had exploded deep inside me and changed my life was the Power of the Press and me as its handmaiden" (p. 304). She resolved to leave Hollywood and find "real, new, larger worlds to conquer" (p. 305).

The real work she found was covering the Lindbergh case for the New York Journal and the International News Service. She claimed to have experienced second thoughts about leaving her (three) children to go off to New Jersey. She did not mind leaving the husband, who apparently drifted away at

some point during her absence, never to reappear until a custody trial. Yet, she rationalized: "This would be real newspaper work, alive and crackling with excitement." She stayed with INS for nearly two decades, primarily covering Washington politics.¹²

St. Johns' life continued to be rocky, especially after the World War II death of one son. There was a third failed marriage. Like her father, she battled alcoholism. The Honeycomb refers cryptically to what sounds like a suicide attempt. At one point "even" Hollywood wouldn't hire her and she could afford neither rent nor food. Nonetheless, she wrote a successful series for Ladies Home Journal called the "Government Girl" (later turned into an RKO movie). Having already written a six part series on Mahatma Gandhi, she covered the 1948 assassination of Gandhi. She also wrote extensively about the marriage and abdication of the Duke of Windsor. After retiring from the INS, she taught at UCLA's graduate school of journalism and at several other journalism schools.

Kathryn Tucker Windham, born in 1918, dedicated her 1990 autobiography to the reporter who, by going off to World War II, enabled Windham finally to get a job with the Alabama Journal, where she became known as the Odd-Egg Editor. When Windham graduated from Huntingdon College in 1939, she had applied for a job at the Montgomery Advertiser. The city editor responded: "If you were a man, I'd hire you. But I don't want any female reporters" (1990, p. 2). Windham went home to Thomasville, Alabama, where she worked for her mother's insurance agency while stringing for several Alabama papers, including the Advertiser. In 1940, the police reporter and feature writer for the Journal (the Advertiser's afternoon paper) enlisted, and Windham got his job. She was thrilled, and showed hostile police officers that they would not intimidate her. In 1943 she took a job with the U.S. Treasury Department promoting war bond sales. She missed journalism, however, so after one year, went to the Birmingham News, the largest paper in the state.

In 1946 Windham married a reporter who had just returned from the front. Notably, immediately

after mentioning the wedding Windham announced, without fanfare, that after ten years of marriage, her husband died of a heart attack. She apparently had stayed home for 12 years, doing "all the traditional mother things" (p. 143). She also wrote some features and magazine stories, as well as a weekly column. Then, needing to support her three children, she went back to work for the Selma Times-Journal, at first part-time so that she would be home afternoons. Eventually she worked full-time. "I wanted to be back in the news-gathering business, and the paper needed someone with my journalistic background," she said (p. 145). She called herself "whatever fit the occasion": state editor, women's news editor, assistant editor, sports writer, political reporter, feature writer. She stayed on until 1973, when her paper was sold to a chain whose owners she feared would object to her "unorthodox working habits." "Old habits are hard to break though," she said. "I still find myself wanting to ask people questions that are none of my business, just as I did for years as a reporter" (p. 170).

Thus, the career moves of all three married women reflected domestic responsibilities, but not simply in the ways predicted by male colleagues. St. Johns resented the monetary dynamics that forced her out of the city room. She agonized over the need to sacrifice for the sake of her children. Even allowing that St. Johns' tone is consistently dramatic and even melodramatic, the references to her suffering whenever forced to give up serious journalism are quite striking. When she could, she returned. Ironically, Manning and Windham returned to journalism for the same reasons that St. Johns left--propelled by financial exigencies. Furthermore, as satisfying as the domestic sphere was, Manning and Windham regarded "serious" journalism as what would give them--or any journalist--a deeper sense of accomplishment. Manning implied that she would have continued in the newsroom after marriage, had she been allowed to do more serious journalism.

WOMEN WHO DID NOT MARRY

Women who never married also left journalism for economic reasons. After graduating from a

business college in Milwaukee, Elizabeth Jordan (1865-1947) got a job editing the woman's page for Peck's Sun, published by a family friend. After a year there, and two years working for the superintendent of the Milwaukee school system, Jordan convinced Colonel John Cockerel to hire her for the New York World. Perseverance, charm, self-confidence, hard work and some lucky breaks put her into the managing editor's good graces by 1890. "I had some good assignments, enough successes to keep me cheerful, and enough failures to keep me chastened," she said (1938, p. 36). She quickly settled into the hectic routine of the World. The editor apparently came to realize that she was "willing to work 24 hours a day--in his opinion one of a reporter's most necessary qualifications--and to take any assignment except society news" (p. 48). As assistant editor of the Sunday edition, she edited the daily and Sunday women's pages and supervised several writers, including Anne O'Hagen and Marie Manning, whom she described as a "shining light" of the Hearst publishing world.

Jordan was proud of her journalism success. But she carefully pointed out that, after her father lost his money during the 1893 panic, her family became dependent on her salary, which she supplemented with fiction writing. "After years of regarding it as a trivial detail, the amount I earned had suddenly become important" (p. 105). In 1900, at age 30, she resigned to succeed Margaret Sangster as editor of Harper's Bazaar. Pulitzer was apparently so angry that the magazine had lured Jordan away that he cut her out of his will, although he left \$10,000 to others who had spent at least 10 years at the World. In 1913, when Hearst bought the magazine, she went to Harper & Brothers as a literary advisor. She wrote several novels, short stories, and plays; she also worked briefly for Golden Pictures. Between 1922 and 1945 she wrote a column for America, a Catholic weekly.

Mary Margaret McBride (1899-1976) expressed considerably more distress than Jordan over giving up newspaper work. McBride's autobiography A Long Way from Missouri began: "Ever since I was five years old I'd been determined to go to New York and get on a newspaper" (1959, p. 12). After earning a

journalism degree at the University of Missouri, she went to Washington, D.C. where a friend was establishing a news service. She soon received a job offer from the Cleveland Press, where she enthusiastically covered everything from murders to markets. As a result of her sober coverage of a religion convention--the competing papers had focussed on the skirmishes--she received a job offer from the New York headquarters of the organization that had sponsored the convention. It was her ticket to New York City, and she worked for that interfaith organization for two years until 1921, when the New York Mail hired her. Her first assignment was covering a charity event sponsored by society debutantes, but, she said, she was thrilled finally to be working for a New York newspaper. She became the paper's sob sister, a position and title she loathed, but managed to break out of the "sob sister ghetto" after a year. Her lengthy descriptions of stories she covered, ethical conflicts she faced and women reporters she admired all indicated her commitment to serious reporting.

Three years later, when the Mail was merged with the Telegram, she was not one of those hired by the new owner Frank Munsey. She turned to free-lancing, especially for the Saturday Evening Post. Of her attempt to survive on free-lancing, McBride said: "Before I was through, I was sick of myself, I felt dirty and as if I'd sold out to the devil. But everybody kept telling me that a free-lance must take a whack at everything" (1959, p. 190). Luckily, 1930 was a great year for free-lancing, since she lost most of her money in the stock market crash.¹¹ On New Year's Day, 1931, however, she suffered a complete nervous breakdown. Over the next three years she went from moderate success to complete poverty. "I held off as long as I could, but when all other efforts failed, I was finally forced to try to get a publicity job. This is to me the worst possible way to make a living in the writing field" (p. 249). Eventually she found her way into radio, where she enjoyed enormous fame and popularity as a broadcast talk show host. She hosted a program under the pseudonym Martha Deane for WOR from 1934 to 1942, then switched first to CBS and then ABC, where she stayed until retiring in 1954.

THWARTED CAREERS

The short-lived journalism career of Edna Ferber (1887-1968), best-known as a novelist and playwright, first might confirm some of the earliest accusations by male editors, that is, that women lacked the physical stamina, that women could not achieve the economical prose style required of modern reporting, and that women's interest in newspapers was motivated only by personal agendas, including writing novels.¹⁴ Ferber's two autobiographies bring out other issues.

Ferber wanted to attend Northwestern University but her parents, owners of a small store, could not afford it. Therefore, on the basis of Ferber's article about her Hebrew school, the Appleton (Wisconsin) Daily Crescent hired her as its first female reporter. "I must have been quite obnoxious but I did bring in the news" (1939, p. 115). She loved everything except for writing society news. It was better than any college education, she thought. Eighteen months later, however, a new city editor, unhappy with the Girl Reporter who dramatized herself and embellished her stories, fired Ferber. The Milwaukee Journal immediately hired Ferber as a court and police reporter, "as an emergency stopgap to get what was known as the woman's angle."

Again, Ferber worked hard--"like a man," she said. For the next two years, she devoted herself to the job, despite the low pay. Not knowing that she was being exploited by a wealthy publisher, she never requested a raise. Then one day she fainted from anemia brought on, she said, by overwork and poor eating. The Journal held her job for a month, but Ferber spent six months in bed. When Ferber, who had moved with her mother and sister to Chicago, applied for a job at the Chicago Tribune, an editor told her: "We don't use women reporters. [W]e don't want any women reporters. We'd rather have men do men's work" (p. 168).

Ferber's continuing search for journalism jobs met with spotty success. She landed a free-lance job covering the national party conventions for a newspaper syndicate--but she got sick. For two days, friends William Allen White and George Fitch wrote her pieces.¹⁵ Near the end of the First World War, she tried to

go to Europe to write articles about the Red Cross, but the French consul refused to grant a visa, on the grounds that Ferber, whose father was born in Hungary, might be a spy. She worked for the Writers War Board during World War II. In 1945 as an accredited correspondent for the Air Force, she wrote about her visits to European air bases and the concentration camp at Buchenwald. Ferber, who never married, often connected her success as a writer to her training as a reporter; she emphasized how it provided a valuable apprenticeship for her half-century of writing novels, short-stories, and plays.¹⁶ But she never was able to return to daily journalism.

Frances Davis's reporting career also ended because of ill-health. Davis had always wanted to be a reporter. Davis had spent her youth shuttling between a utopian farm commune and a settlement house in Boston, where she learned what she could about journalism. While in high school she proofread a weekly paper: "I had small competence for reading proof, but I did it with zeal because it was concerned with newspapers" (1981, p. 111). After high school she wheedled her way onto the Boston Transcript. She scornfully quit journalism school after a month of "finger exercises" and moved to New York, where she free-lanced for the New York World until its 1929 collapse. Unable to find journalism work during the Depression, Davis wrote promotional copy. Determined to follow in the footsteps of such "demigods" as Dorothy Thompson and Vincent Sheean, Davis finally persuaded the editor of a peace organization's house organ to train her. In 1936, Davis went off to Europe, where she free-lanced for some small magazines and papers. Eventually she landed a full-time job as the London Daily Mail's only woman correspondent. She detested its pro-Franco position but was thrilled to cover the Spanish Civil War for a major paper and to join the fraternity of reporters. "No longer excess baggage in a car. No longer a freelancer doing mail columns" (pp. 148-49).

A nasty infection from a shrapnel wound suffered while reporting at the front, however, forced her to return to the United States for medical care. While recovering, she and I. Bernard Cohen, a historian of science, fell in love. She described herself as appalled at the idea that she heed his pleadings and stay home.

She was determined to return to Spain: "My job is to cover this war. How could I deny that fact for the dream of a private life?" (p. 184). Just before setting off for Spain, however, Davis was re-hospitalized. The reinfection had destroyed the structure of her throat. The resulting tracheotomy left her "a mute and mini-Cassandra in a frenzy" and ended her journalism career.

EXPERIENCES WITH THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN PRESS

The life stories of Alice Dunnigan and Ellen Tarry, both born in 1906 in rural areas of the South, are remarkably similar, including in their attention to the difficulties of surviving on earnings from the black press. Dunnigan's 673 page autobiography primarily marks her pride in her accomplishments as a reporter, which she listed fairly immodestly and in huge detail, beginning with her receiving credentials in 1947 to cover the White House. White reporters, she noted, could be casual about the President's press conferences. "But for me it represented progress for my race, recognition of the Black press, consideration of women reporters, and a personal honor for me because I was the very first woman of my race ever to receive such accreditation" (1974, p. 5).

During junior high school Dunnigan wrote small items for black newspapers. But the only work open to her as a black woman was as teacher (in black schools) or domestic (for white families). She did both of these. She taught for 18 years in various small schools, while also supplementing her salary by cleaning, doing laundry, cooking--and also trying to get a college education. Meanwhile, she wrote for a variety of black papers in Kentucky. After a brief first marriage, she remarried in 1932 and she and her husband had a son. But this marriage was also unhappy. She and Charles Dunnigan rarely lived together, although they did not formally divorce for many years. During World War II Dunnigan moved to Washington D.C., where she worked for several government offices, diligently working her way up.

Finally, in 1946 the Associated Negro Press founder Claude A. Barnett hired her as a stringer at a half-cent per word. The rate did not change in 1947, when she replaced the ANP's full-time Washington, D.C., correspondent. Thirteen years later, she was paying for her own supplies and stamps on \$280 a month.

But the economics were against her. Dunnigan's parents had helped her out by essentially rearing her son but she was wanted to financially support her son, and she found it difficult to live on her ANP salary. Barnett encouraged her to write about people, not issues: she could get "cash contributions" from the organizations and celebrities she wrote about. "Such hustles might have worked out for male reporters who had the brass to request, or even demand, some compensation for their favors. But it didn't meet my approval. Not only did I consider it unprofessional and unethical, but dishonest as well. And I refused to degrade the professional standing which I had worked so hard to obtain" (p. 296). Finally, having long been active in Democratic politics, she took a job in the Kennedy administration with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. She died in 1983.

Ellen Tarry, whose parents were mulatto, could "pass" as white but this did only complicated her efforts to work. She wanted to attend Columbia's School of Journalism but could not afford it. Instead, after earning a teaching certificate from the State Normal school, Tarry taught school. On the basis of some sketches about African American heroes that she wrote for her students, the editor of the Birmingham Truth, an organ of the Knights of Pythias, hired her as combination reporter, columnist and editorial writer. Finally, in 1929 she went to New York, where she hoped to save up the \$1,057 that a year at Columbia would cost. She worked a number of odd jobs before being persuaded that she could apply for reporting jobs without formal journalism education.

According to Tarry, the editor of the first Negro (her term) weekly where she applied was "patronizing" and dismissed her by saying most newspaper women were ugly. At the next paper, the editor offered her an unpaid job as society editor, letting her understand that she was supposed to get money from her subjects. She was appalled--even more so when she found her sample feature story woven into an article the next week under his byline.

Tarry eventually was able to freelance for the Catholic World as well as several African American weekly papers. After finishing her second children's book, she finally got an offer from the New York

Amsterdam News: "It was like a dream come true for me to have the opportunity to write all day and get paid for it, too" (1955, p. 187). The job was not perfect. One of her first assignments was to base a story on a press release from an agency advocating birth control. The intensely religious Tarry discarded the release: "I did not want the story on my conscience or under my by-line" (p. 188). But she loved the job. When the Catholic social reform community asked Tarry to move to Chicago, she refused. "Writing satisfied me, as jewels and fine clothes satisfy many women. Writing for a newspaper gave me the opportunity to project many of my interests and quieted that old urge to do something about the plight of my people. I felt as if I had found my niche at last" (p. 194). Covering the funeral of a sharecropper who was executed for killing an abusive landlord further strengthened her resolve to stick to her journalistic career.

Tarry eventually heeded the urgings of the local Bishop, but soon as the project was finished, she returned to the Amsterdam News. This time another Catholic agency offered her a job--at a salary considerably more than what the News could afford. Again she left the News. She continued to write books, including biographies and children's books, but never again could afford to return to journalism. Salary was especially important to her after the birth in 1944 of her daughter, whom she raised entirely on her own.

Neither Dunnigan and Tarry indicated any hope of working for white papers, although Dunnigan expressed great appreciation for white reporters, both male and female, for supporting her and teaching her the ropes. Their complaints about the black press was articulated quite specifically, insisting that white men were not the only ones discriminating against women. Dunnigan noted that race, sex, and her southern upbringing and education in segregated schools all worked against her. But of the three strikes, she said, "I think sex was the most difficult, because I not only had to convince members of the other race of my capability, but had to fight against discrimination of Negro men, as well as against envy and jealousy of female members of my own race."

THE CLASSIC CASE?

Charlotte Ebener acknowledged in No Facilities for Women (1955) that she had willingly abandoned her profession. Ebener had parlayed her journalism degree from the University of Wisconsin and a few years experience with the International News Service into an assignment covering the Chinese Civil War. In February 1946 she and nine other foreign correspondents went to Manchuria. She filed stories from various sites in China and the next year, from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Indonesia. But when she met George Weller, the Boston foreign correspondent who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1942, she lost her ambition to be a "famous lady war correspondent." In 1947 she went to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria not so much for her assignments for a women's news syndicate as to be near Weller. Then, during a trip to Lebanon, she was taken into custody. Although she was safe, Ebener let circulate implications that she was in danger. Sure enough, Weller grew so worried that he called and proposed.

After the wedding she got accredited as a correspondent so that she could accompany Weller. Once she accidentally scooped Weller. But in 1949 when he was assigned to the Mediterranean, she retired from foreign reporting, "having discovered I couldn't make any money at it and Weller liked me better as a relaxed wife, secretary, and copy boy." She continued to travel the globe with her husband but never returned to journalism.

CONCLUSION

The journalism school graduate was said, in 1953, to "live much more happily with her husband and family than with her profession" (Jones, 1953, p. 52).¹⁷ This does not describe the journalists studied here. The women studied here cannot speak for all women who left journalism. This is not a statistical study and makes no claims about what percentage of women, whether or not they were famous as journalists, quit their jobs to get married. Indeed, women who either were fired early in their careers or who left reporting after a few years either to get married or for other work may have been somewhat less likely to publish their autobiographies. Nonetheless, assuming that the pressures and tensions portrayed, if not betrayed, here are not unrepresentative of what women faced, these stories show that the newsroom was a worksite that was

seen as significant and highly attractive to ambitious women, albeit one that was not consistently inviting. They described themselves as having begun with a considerable commitment to journalism. Contrary to the folklore, journalism was not intended as a short-term opportunity for meeting glamorous people, finding adventure or earning "pin money."

These ten women offer a range of explanations for leaving the newsroom. Of the women whose interrupted or aborted careers are discussed here, only Ebener fits the pattern that was asserted so vigorously and confidently by both commentators and by journalists seeking to justify not hiring women. The rest worked hard to continue as writers, although not necessarily in the newsroom.¹⁸ Several of them shifted to other media professions when they were unable to continue in the newsroom. More importantly, the pleasures and duties of homemaking do not appear to explain women's exits from newsroom. Furthermore, those women who returned to the newsroom were not the ones that press mythology would predict: it was the married women with children. Manning and Windham returned to reporting because they needed the salary, low pay or not. St. Johns returned to the newsroom whenever she could afford it.

Indeed, one of the notable continuities across these stories of defectors in the early and mid-twentieth century is an ongoing complaint about low pay. Even those who quit because of ill-health brought on either by overwork (Ferber) or by work-related injury (Davis) complained of low salaries. Women who were not married needed to support themselves or, in the case of Tarry and Jordan, other family members, and they believed this could not be done on a reporter's salary. Even Ebener noted that she stayed out of journalism in part because it did not pay her enough.

Furthermore, they all remarked on the specific difficulties they experienced as women in getting journalism jobs. For Tarry and Dunnigan, gender was compounded by race, but their point was that African American men discriminated against women. For McBride and Ferber, this gender issue was underscored as the factor that ultimately kept them out of journalism. For others sexism made their jobs more difficult or limited them to the women's angle, rather than excluding them altogether. For most of these women, being

forced to abandon newspaper jobs produced considerable anguish and turmoil. They were devoted to their work and loved being in the newsroom. These women are thus less the dilettantes described by men and more similar to women journalists who stayed: resourceful and matter-of-fact, but drawn to excitement and challenge.¹⁹

This study is relevant to on-going controversies over women's journalism work, journalism as labor and the newsroom as a gendered workplace. The notion that investing in women's education was wasteful because they would marry and leave the newsroom persisted well beyond the mid-century. Speaking at a 1984 discussion of "the new majority" in journalism, the dean of a major journalism program said: "I have to confess my nightmare, which is that journalism will become even more female and all of our students will go off and marry male engineering students and have to have a break in their career and never get back to it. That's my nightmare" (quoted in Beasley and Theus, 1988, p. 115). Even a baseless nightmare, however, may serve to exclude or constrain people who otherwise could make valuable contributions in the newsroom; it may misrepresent the real economic problems that journalists---with families and those without families---face

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1. Several other autobiographies by women in this period are excluded here either to avoid redundancy or because the person worked so brief or casually in journalism.
2. Knight said she tried to stay in journalism and took a public relations job with the Advertising and Publicity Bureau in Hong Kong only when nothing else panned out as a way for her to see more of the world. Once she announced that she had purchased her ticket to Hong Kong, the UP agreed to put her on retainer as a "string correspondent." The UP rehired her when she returned to the U. S. By 1938 she was back in public relations.
3. Nearly one-fifth of her sample were married to journalists. Jones did not indicate how many women responded to her questionnaire, done in for a master's degree.
4. Weaver and Wilhoit say that by 1992, when they found very similar data, "more women and men journalists were managing to balance their personal and professional lives," but it was still somewhat more difficult for women than for men (1996, p. 179).
5. Some have appeared posthumously. As a result, copyright dates do not necessarily indicate what period was addressed. The focus of this study, in any case, is mid-century.
6. Among those who challenge the facticity of autobiography, Good (1993) uses autobiography for psychological insights into journalists. As it turns out, many historians accept and rely on autobiographies to a remarkable degree. As two footnotes below note, the fact that seems to be the most open to challenge is year of birth.
7. The Life and Religious Experiences of Jarena Lee, a Coloured Lady, Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel, Revised and Corrected from the Original Manuscript, Written by Herself, first published in 1836, was a spiritual narrative sold at church and camp meetings.
8. The second husband was Richard Hyland. St. Johns won the custody battle, in part because her first husband testified in court that she was a good mother. St. Johns was more introspective than most reporter-autobiographers, and more open about personal traumas. She said quite a bit about her love life, including that the man she "really" loved was her editor Ray Helgesen.
9. The autobiography implies that Manning was born in 1875 and her New York Times obituary used this year, but her son Oliver Gasch said she was probably born in 1873 (Notable American Women, 1971, p. 492).
10. According to Ishbel Ross (1936), "Mr. Hearst, more than any other publisher, has helped to put newspaper women on the map" (p. 24).
11. In her absence, different writers handled the column. The person whose tenure was second in length to Manning's was Lilian Lauferty, a social worker who Brisbane hired during World War I for the column; she stayed until 1924, when she married (Ross 1936, p. 83).
12. St. Johns also worked for the Chicago American in 1928 and the New York American in 1929. She came out of retirement to cover Patty Hearst's kidnapping in 1976.

13. Like Manning and McBride, 1929 stock market losses forced Joan Lowell into journalism.

14. Reed (1981) says Ferber was born in 1885, but other dates and information in Reed "add up" to the 1887 date confirmed by other sources.

15. William Allen White's own autobiography includes extensive discussion of Ferber and the political conventions he and Ferber covered but does not mention writing any articles for her.

16. Ferber's novels' highly researched and even pedantic tone irritates modern literary critics, but it may reflect precisely that journalistic training. In any case, although vocational materials criticize treating journalism merely as preparation for fiction-writing, journalists often either combined the two, or quit journalism to write novels. Like many reporters, McBride confessed that early on she intended to go on to write novels. Ross, cited above, left the New York Herald Tribune after fourteen years of some highly glamorous front-page assignments, in order to write novels. Ross left reporting in 1933, the year her first novel appeared. In 1935, after twelve years of marriage, Ross and her husband, a New York Times reporter, had a daughter. Ross eventually published 21 non-fiction books, primarily biographies of famous women, and four novels. Florabel Muir quit the New York Daily News in order to try her hand at fiction. Finding this "lonely," she took a job at the Post that she disliked, then went to Hollywood as a "scenario writer," a year later, she rejoined the Daily News, working in Hollywood.

17. Jones' own data may not support this precise conclusion, either.

18. Except Dunnigan they all wrote other books. Besides those mentioned: Manning wrote two novels; Davis wrote about Spain; McBride wrote other memoirs as well as several biographies and cookbooks; St. Johns wrote fiction and non-fiction; Windham has written over a dozen books, primarily collections of Southern recipes and ghost tales.

19. This is not to say that women never quit for family reasons. The converse is also important, however. Many married women in this period continued to work in journalism.